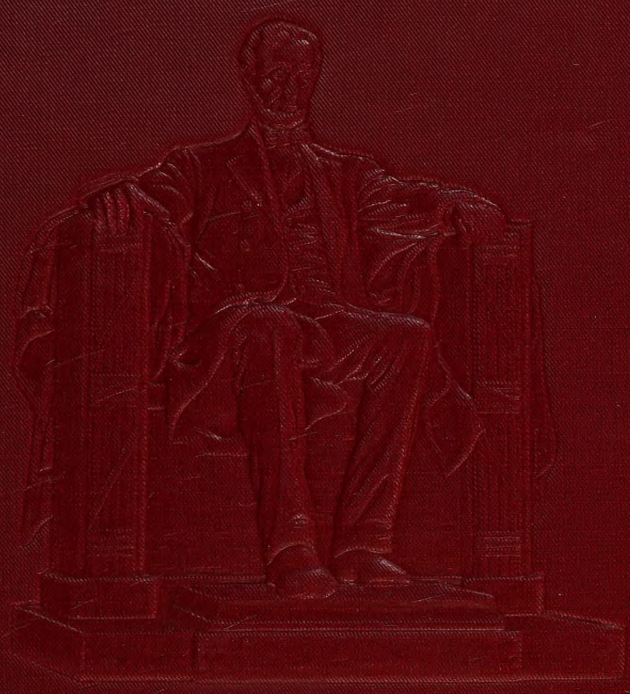

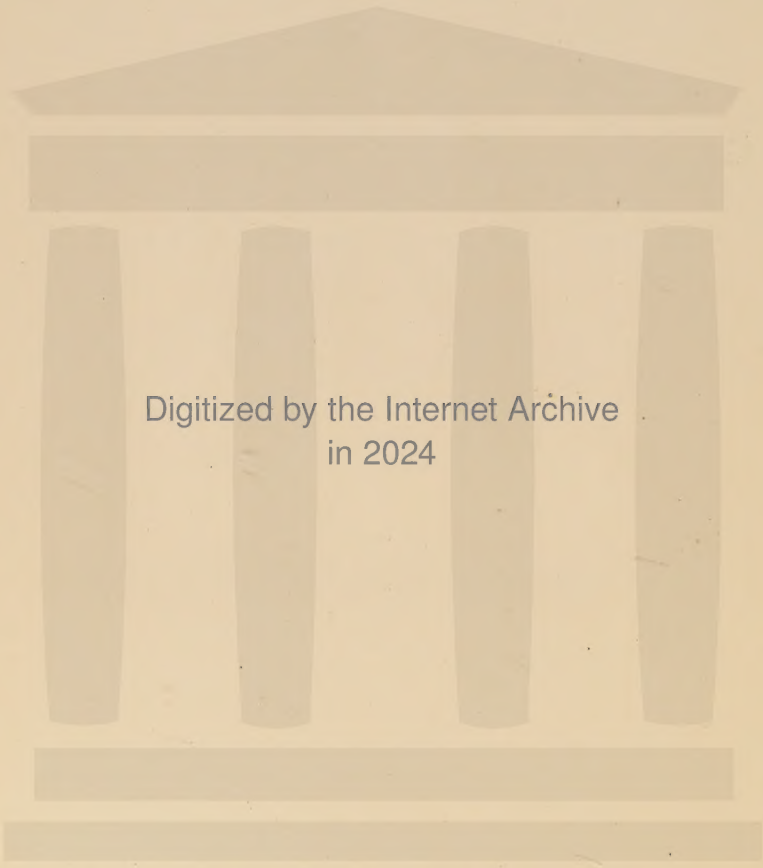
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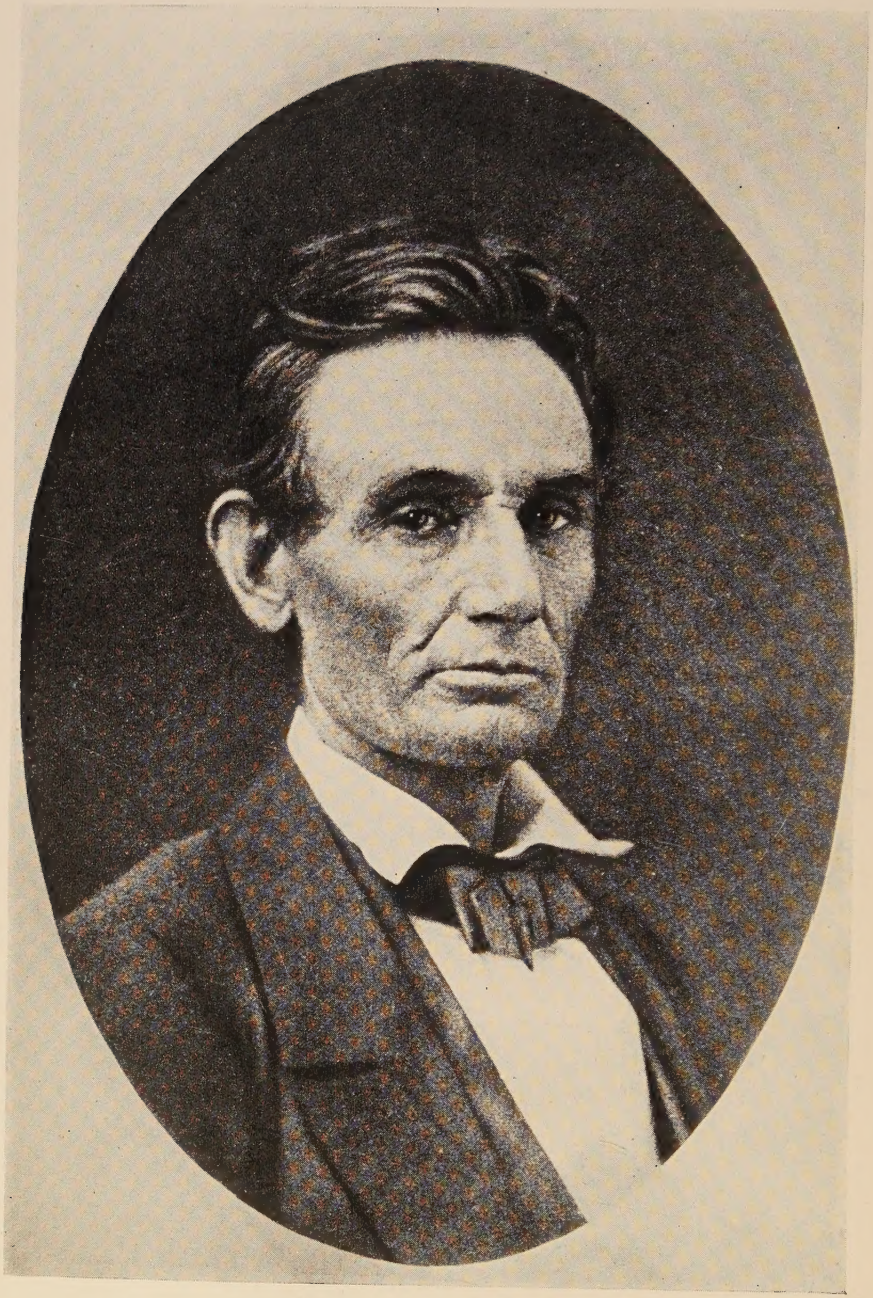
THE LIFE OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN



Courtesy of F. W. Meserve.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN
Photographed in 1859 by S. M. Fassett

THE LIFE OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN

BY

WILLIAM E. BARTON

Author of THE SOUL OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN,
THE PATERNITY OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN, Etc.

VOLUME ONE

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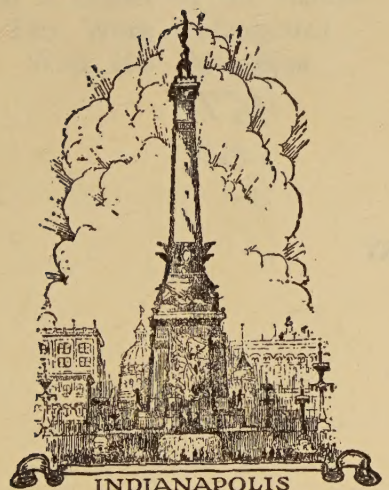

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To

CALVIN COOLIDGE

Like Lincoln a Man of the People
and a Leader of the Nation
This Work is Dedicated
With His Permission

CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
I	The Birth of Abraham Lincoln	1
II	The Parents of Abraham Lincoln	9
III	The Lincolns	21
IV	The Hankses and Sparrows	37
V	The Childhood of Lincoln: 1809-1816	70
VI	Lincoln's Kentucky	97
VII	Lincoln's Boyhood: 1816-1830	112
VIII	Removal to Illinois: 1830	138
IX	A Wizard of Finance: 1831-1832	144
X	The Driftwood and the Dam: 1831-1832	155
XI	The Black Hawk War: April-July, 1832	172
XII	Politician and Postmaster: 1832-1833	181
XIII	Surveyor and Lawmaker: 1834-1835	187
XIV	Lincoln's Alma Mater: 1831-1837	192
XV	The Long Nine: 1836-1837	202
XVI	Ann Rutledge: 1834-1835	211
XVII	Lawyer and Lover: 1836-1839	223
XVIII	Mary Todd: 1839-1842	243
XIX	Lincoln the Politician: 1842-1849	267
XX	Lincoln out of Politics: 1849-1854	287
XXI	Lincoln as a Lawyer: 1848-1860	300
XXII	Home Life in Springfield: 1842-1860	319
XXIII	Lincoln and Slavery: 1848-1854	328
XXIV	The Repeal of the Missouri Compromise: 1854	339
XXV	The Republican Party: 1856	352
XXVI	The Lincoln-Douglas Debates: 1858	364

CHAPTER		PAGE
XXVII	Lincoln the Railsplitter: 1860	404
XXVIII	Lincoln as a Newspaper Owner: 1859-1861	416
XXIX	The Nomination of Lincoln: May, 1860	425
XXX	The Election of Lincoln: November, 1860	436
XXXI	The Interregnum: November 6, 1860-March 4, 1861	448
XXXII	The Journey to Washington: March, 1861	463

APPENDIX

I	Jesse Head	479
II	An Autobiographical Letter of Dennis Hanks	484
III	New Salem Elections	485
IV	Lincoln in the Legislature	492
V	Lincoln's Attendance in 1841	493
VI	The Graves of Ann Rutledge	494
VII	Sangamon, and the Journal	495
VIII	The Lincoln Circuit	496
IX	The First Lincoln-Douglas Debate, in 1839	497
X	The Lincoln and Douglas Speaking Dates in 1858	500
XI	The Armstrong Murder Trial Almanac	506
XII	Lincoln's Beard	515

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

ABRAHAM LINCOLN . . . . . *Frontispiece*
Photograph in 1859 by S. M. Fassett.

MARRIAGE BOND FOR MARRIAGE OF THOMAS LINCOLN AND NANCY HANKS . . . . . *Facing page* 16
Photographed for this work.

MARRIAGE RETURN OF REVEREND JESSE HEAD . *Facing page* 20
Certifying the marriage of Thomas Lincoln and Nancy Hanks. Photographed for this work.

MARRIAGE RETURNS OF REVEREND JESSE HEAD . *Facing page* 26
Immediately preceding and following that in which the Lincoln marriage is recorded. Discovered at Springfield, Kentucky, by the author and Honorable Joseph Polin.

DENNIS F. HANKS . . . . . *Facing page* 56
Portrait and autobiographical sketch. Photographed for this work.

THE ONE EXISTING AUTOGRAPH OF LINCOLN'S LOST GRANDMOTHER . . . . . *Facing page* 62
Discovered by the author.

MARRIAGE BOND OF HENRY SPARROW AND LUCY HANKS . . . . . *Facing page* 64
Discovered at Harrodsburg, Kentucky, by the Misses Mary A. and Martha Stephenson.

SNAPSHOTS OF GENTRYVILLE . . . . . *Facing page* 122
Main Street. Little Pigeon Church. Site of Lincoln home. Grave of Lincoln's sister.

THE SANGAMON AT NEW SALEM . . . . . *Facing page* 160
Photographed by Herbert Georg.

NEW SALEM RESTORED . . . . . *Facing page* 198
The Rutledge Tavern and the Museum. The Lincoln and Berry store. Photographed for this work.

THE GRAVE OF ANN RUTLEDGE . . . . . *Facing page* 220
Petersburg, Illinois. The original grave. Rutledge lilac bush. Old Concord Cemetery. McGrady Rutledge Farm.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN'S FIRST PORTRAIT . . . *Facing page* 238
From a daguerreotype owned by Robert T. Lincoln.

MARY TODD LINCOLN . . . . . *Facing page* 246
From photograph in Springfield about 1858.

PARLOR IN THE EDWARDS HOUSE . . . . *Facing page* 264
Where Abraham Lincoln married Mary Todd. Photographed for this work by Eugene J. Hall.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN . . . . . *Facing page* 302
Photograph by Alexander H. Hessler.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN'S SPRINGFIELD HOME . . *Facing page* 320
Photographed for this work by Eugene J. Hall.

STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS . . . . . *Facing page* 366
From a contemporary steel engraving.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN IN 1860 . . . . . *Facing page* 410
Photograph by Brady at the time of the Cooper Union Address.

THE REPUBLICAN CONVENTION OF 1860 . . . *Facing page* 428
From a contemporary drawing.

INTRODUCTION

He who adds another to the already long list of biographies of Abraham Lincoln should be ready to give a reason for the faith that is within him. My reasons are three:

The first is that the biographies of Lincoln already in print have not discovered all the important facts of his life. Their authors have shown, in the main, commendable diligence, and I am greatly indebted to my predecessors; but I have been able to explore with greater thoroughness some fields hitherto inadequately covered and to penetrate some areas hitherto unknown. Commonplace men are easily classified as tall or short, white or black, good or bad; but genius has the saving grace of inconsistency. Every really great man is easy to caricature—by so narrow a margin is the sublime separated from the ridiculous. Every great man combines in his personality, and generally in unstable equilibrium, a group of contradictory qualities. The character of Abraham Lincoln is so complex, so capable of misjudgment, we need for its interpretation every scrap of authentic information that will enable us more nearly to understand the hiding of his power.

The second reason is that all of the extant biographies of Lincoln contain inaccuracies, some of them trivial, others important, and a few of them very grave. I am able to correct some of these errors and I hope that I am not adding any new ones.

The third reason is that it is now possible to write a life of Lincoln with a perspective of more than half a century. Contemporaries are valuable witnesses but notoriously incompetent judges.

I have come to this task with a conviction of duty and the joy of a rare privilege. I was born in Illinois in the first year of the Civil War. My earliest memories are a child's wondering impressions of the departure of the last volunteers in the spring of 1865—my father's youngest brother among them; the funeral of a soldier, an uncle of mine; the north-bound trains of freight-cars on the Illinois Central, loaded inside and out with bearded men in faded blue, shamelessly throwing kisses to every woman in sight, and none of those women resenting it; and, in some respects most vivid of all, the death and funeral of Abraham Lincoln.

I passed the years of my boyhood among men who had known Lincoln. The years of my early manhood I spent as teacher and circuit-riding preacher in the hills of Kentucky and Tennessee among people akin to Lincoln and living as the Lincolns lived. Subsequent years brought me unusual, if not unique, opportunities of travel and research regarding Lincoln, till I had traveled in his footsteps the whole of his life journey.

I could not say of this book that its story of the birth of Lincoln was written in the cabin where he was born and the story of his death in the room where he died, and everything between in similarly appropriate places; the actual writing has been done under conditions more favorable to methodical literary composition. But if such a statement were to be made of the notes on which this biography is based, it would be far within the truth; I am confident that no biographer of Lincoln can have covered the actual ground as I have covered it, or visited the scenes associated with Lincoln's life so frequently or methodically as I have been able to do.

But I am not thinking of this book as chiefly justified by the aggregate of miles its author has traveled or the number of people whom he has interviewed, nor by the thousands of letters he has written and received. I am thinking rather that not many men of my generation have had such opportunities as these for learning about Lincoln, and that mine is the only generation

that can combine the judgment of a sixty years' perspective with a body of testimony gathered at first hand from people who knew Lincoln. Whatever biographies of Lincoln the future may produce, this combination of direct testimony and historic perspective is possible now, and will never be possible to the biographers of any later generation.

I can not adequately thank the hundreds of correspondents and friends who have assisted me, but I must mention my special obligations to the Honorable William H. Townsend, of Lexington, Reverend Louis A. Warren, of Morganfield, Honorable Joseph Polin, of Springfield, Honorable L. S. Pence, of Lebanon, Honorable Otis M. Mather, of Hodgenville, Honorable R. C. Ballard-Thruston, of Louisville, Mrs. Jouette Cannon Taylor and Miss Nina Visscher, of Frankfort, and the Misses Mary A. and Martha Stephenson, of Harrodsburg, all of Kentucky; Professor James A. Woodburn, of the University of Indiana, and Honorable Albert J. Beveridge, of Indianapolis; Professor L. E. Robinson, of Monmouth College, Mr. Oliver R. Barrett, of Chicago, Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber and Miss Georgia L. Osborne, of Springfield, Miss Caroline McIlvaine, of Chicago, and Miss Bernice V. Lovely, of Colchester, Illinois; Mr. A. H. Griffith, of Fisk, Wisconsin; Doctor Herbert Putnam, Mr. A. P. C. Griffin, Doctor Charles Moore and Mr. William Adams Slade, of the Library of Congress. This is a most meager list compared with the number to whom I am indebted, but I can not mention all, and I must not omit these to whom my obligation is so great. I must mention, however, the libraries that have given me most valued aid. These are the State Historical Libraries of Massachusetts, Virginia, Kentucky, Indiana, Wisconsin and Kansas; the Newberry Library of Chicago and that of the Chicago Historical Society; the McLellan Collection in Brown University; the Draper Collection in the Library of the University of Wisconsin; and the Durrett Collection in the Library of the University of Chicago. I reserve for special mention the Library of Congress, especially the Manuscript Division and the remarkably ef-

ficient Department of Bibliography, for invaluable aid, most cheerfully given, and the Illinois State Historical Society, whose assistance has been as constant as its courtesy has been unfailing. From this last society I have had the special courtesy of the use of the diary of Senator O. H. Browning, a remarkable document and a new and intimate source of knowledge of Lincoln, soon to be published, but furnished to me in advance of publication because I could not wait for its printing.

For the backgrounds of Lincoln's life in Kentucky, Indiana and Illinois I have a basis of knowledge in my own experience more valuable to me than books.

Biography is more than narrative; it is also interpretation. It is possible to compile a list of dates and events in Lincoln's life, and then to trundle past them, one after another, a bronze St. Gaudens' statue of Lincoln, formed in the mold of the biographer's invention, the castors audibly creaking and the biographer visibly pushing, from Hodgenville to Gentryville, across the prairies to New Salem and Springfield, and finally into the front door of the White House. Neither Lincoln nor any other great man has escaped this kind of biography; and there must be readers who prefer the story to be told in that fashion. But the actual Lincoln was developed by his successive environments. So fully did he realize this that he said he had not controlled events but been controlled by them. This was one-half of the truth. We can not understand Lincoln apart from his environments; neither can we understand his environments without a knowledge of the growing personality of Lincoln. If the Lincoln of the earlier chapters of this work is a less heroic figure than the man who emerges at the close, that is, as I conceive, as Lincoln should be portrayed. From the beginning of his life to the very end, the character of Lincoln grew and developed.

This book is, therefore, a study of the progressive evolution of one of the world's greatest leaders. Of him it may reverently be said that he increased in wisdom and in stature and in favor with God and man.

Abraham Lincoln did not enjoy reading biographies, which he said were falsified by their authors in the interest of eulogy. Closing in disgust the biography of a noted character, he said that the Bible, after all, was about the only book that told the truth about people. While he was president, a publishing firm that had issued a Life of Lincoln bound a copy in full morocco, and sent it to the White House in a vain attempt to secure from him a letter of commendation. The volume is in existence, and bears on its fly-leaf the inscription of the publishers. On the title-page is another written inscription. Just below the author's name appears the president's characterization of the author, "the premium liar of history." It would be interesting to know in what terms President Lincoln would have characterized some of his more recent and vastly more extravagant biographers. As Cromwell rebuked the artist who in painting the portrait of the great Protector omitted the wart upon his cheek, Abraham Lincoln would have sternly admonished his biographers, "Paint me as I am!" This book attempts to tell the truth about Abraham Lincoln.

I am striving not to repeat in this work any considerable part of what I have said in *The Soul of Abraham Lincoln* and *The Paternity of Abraham Lincoln.* The former was completely sold out, and is now appearing in a new edition with a few corrections, mostly unimportant. I have little to add to, and nothing to subtract from, the conclusions announced in that book. The same I can say also as to the main part of *The Paternity of Abraham Lincoln.* The book as a whole is true. But in the latter part of it, I included some incomplete material on matters germane to, but not directly involved in, the main line of inquiry. I can not say that I regret having printed those pages; for I gave the material for just what it might prove to be worth; but the conclusions which I appeared to be approaching in that part of the book, and at which I earnestly hoped to arrive, have not been sustained by subsequent evidence. The true answer to the questions propounded in that part of the book is found

in this present work. But the book, *The Paternity of Abraham Lincoln,* taken as a whole, is reliable, and, as I believe, a permanent contribution to knowledge. The essential conclusions of both these books are assumed in this present work; for the evidence on which these conclusions rest, I refer to these two books themselves.

As the first draft of this book was written in my vacations, certain portions are reminiscent of places where I have sojourned for periods of rest and service. Some of the earlier chapters were written in the Mission Inn, at Riverside, California, and others in the Coronado Beach Hotel, and still others on the shores of Puget Sound, in the library of my friend, Professor Clark P. Bissett, of the University of Washington. Some of the last work was done amid the happy surroundings of Lake Placid Club in the Adirondacks. In these and other places I received marked courtesies which it is a pleasure to remember.

This manuscript, which has been several years in writing, and has traveled with me in whole or in part on innumerable journeys wherein I have followed the life trail of Lincoln, and also from coast to coast, accomplishes its final revision in a remote and quiet place where for many years I have had my summer home. The little lake beneath the windows of my Wigwam gives it a rippling smile of farewell, and the pine trees that for many summers have seen it unpacked and wrought over and packed up again, murmur after it a fragrant Godspeed. And I am thankful in this quiet spot for the strength and opportunity that enable me thus to bring to a close the labor of many years.

WILLIAM E. BARTON

The Wigwam
on Sunset Lake,
Foxboro, Massachusetts.

THE LIFE OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN

THE LIFE OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN

CHAPTER I

THE BIRTH OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN

BIRTHPLACES of eminent men are not selected with reference to the convenience of tourists and historians. If there had been an American traveler in London in 1564, and he had cared to ride across the moors to bear congratulations to Mr. and Mrs. Shakespeare on the birth of their son, William, his guide-book, if he had possessed a guide-book, would have afforded him little assistance. Stratford-on-Avon was then a long, long way from London, and few people in that city had ever heard of the squalid village where the greatest creative genius that ever spoke the English tongue lay, as he later lived, undiscovered. Not many of the gentlefolk of Edinburgh or Glasgow, or even of the scholars in the universities of those two cities, could have directed a traveler to the "clay-biggin" at Ayr, where Robert Burns lay in a built-in bed. Even now the fast trains thunder through Ecclefechan, a name which feels like a Scotch thistle in the mouth of him who essays to pronounce it properly, and most of the passengers, en route for their boats at Liverpool, have no suspicion that they are passing the home where Thomas Carlyle, even in his infancy possessed of "that diabolical thing, a stomach," once lay kicking with colic. As for Bethlehem, only the angels knew the way thither; the Magi had to stop in Jerusalem and inquire.

Abraham Lincoln was born three miles south of the present

site of Hodgenville, in what is now Larue County, Kentucky, on Sunday morning, February 12, 1809. Hodgenville has a court-house and several taverns and stores and a garage and a railway station and a school and some churches and enough inhabitants to make up a small town; but there was no court-house or store or school or church or village there when Lincoln was born. The larger county of Hardin, of which the present Larue was then a part, had only one town, Elizabethtown, or, as it was then and still now is often abbreviated, Etown. Abraham Lincoln never saw Hodgenville, and he stumbled over the spelling of the name, when, after his nomination for the presidency, he tried to tell just where he was born. The Hodgen family was there in Lincoln's day, and they had a mill, but the Lincolns did not commonly patronize it, the Kirkpatrick mill being nearer, and they moved away from that locality before Abraham ever rode a horse to mill. Hodgenville is now a town with a place on the map, and has come to fame because of a man whom it never knew and who never knew of it until many years after the event which linked their names together.

Of all the presidents of the United States, only Theodore Roosevelt was born in a large city, and he escaped to the plains. Birth in a log cabin is not an absolute prerequisite to a presidential election, and several millions of Americans have been born in log cabins who have not lived in the White House; but all in all, a log cabin has proved as good a place as any in which to be born if a man intends to be president. William Henry Harrison was the first presidential candidate to capitalize the fact, but Andrew Jackson was elected twelve years before Harrison, and his birthplace also was a cabin. Millard Fillmore was born in a log house, and rocked in a split-log sap-trough, thus reversing Samson's riddle, for out of the sweetness came the strong. James A. Garfield was born in a cabin, and this is by no means a complete list. Abraham Lincoln was born in a log cabin.

There is variety in log cabins. There are small cabins and

large cabins; cabins with open spaces between the logs, and cabins with split chinking daubed with clay or even smoothly covered with plaster; cabins with doors and windows and cabins with just openings—maybe a blanket or a bear-skin hung in the aperture; cabins with the earth for a floor and cabins with puncheon or even with a floor whose boards were sawn at the mill; cabins with stick-chimneys and cabins with stone fireplaces. The one-room cabin is the germ-cell of American architecture. The cell becomes two cells, two log structures set end to end with doors facing, and an open space between, the two fireplaces being usually, though not invariably, at the two ends, and the roof-timbers extended across the open space. Then a third cell may be added for a kitchen at the back, the three architectural units adjoining each other like three black squares of a checkerboard, with the open porch as the white square enclosed by the black on three sides. Other units may be piled upon the top of these three, or over the front two, and the open porch becomes a long cold hall, with a staircase rising out of it. By this time the structure has become a good example of Colonial architecture, and may, if one likes, be weatherboarded, and painted white, with a portico in front, the columns surmounted by Ionic capitols.

There are "round-log cabins" and "square-log cabins." In each case the shape of the house itself is the same; it is the logs that are left round or are squared by hewing. Primitive American cabins were all, or practically all, round-log cabins; those built of hewn logs were a sign of prosperity.

There was not much hewing of the logs that framed the cabin where Abraham Lincoln was born. The cabin was of one room, had a door in the side, and a stick-chimney at the left hand as one entered the door. There was an unglazed window, closed by a hinged door, but it is doubtful if that was there when Abraham was born. There probably was not a single nail in the entire structure. What chinking there was between the logs we may not now know, but in most cabins of this character there was no lack of ventilation.

One day, many years ago, when I was teaching in an old log schoolhouse in Kentucky, a boy kicked with his bare foot through a crack between the logs at a boy who was passing on the outside, and the boy outside caught his foot. The crack was not large enough for the boy outside to pull the inside boy out, nor yet for the inside boy to pull the outside boy in, and so I caught them in their misdemeanor. That was an unusually large crack, caused by a curve in one log and a large knot in its neighbor log. But often when I slept in cabins that would have been well populated even if I had not been there, and the doors were shut and there were no windows, I was not wholly sorry for the daubing that had fallen off and the chinking that had dropped out or perhaps had never been.

Fuel was abundant, and if the stick-chimney caught fire, the accident was practically certain to occur when the family was awake and the blaze could be extinguished with a gourdful of water, the hissing noise of whose falling drops upon the blazing logs below made rather a cheerful sound. Fires did not often occur at night, at least not late at night, for the fire was covered with ashes before the family went to bed.

Good housekeepers did not let their fires go out. A few years ago, a log cabin in Missouri was torn down, and a fire extinguished on a hearth where it was alleged to have burned for eighty years. It was even claimed that before the beginning of that eighty-year period, the fire had been transported in an iron pot by day hung from the axle of a wagon, to new camps night by night, all the way from Kentucky where, it was said, it had alternately blazed and smouldered as occasion required ever since it was brought in another iron pot through Cumberland Gap from old Virginia about 1790. We may discount such a story somewhat, and suspect that there may have been a few occasions in the century and more when it had been necessary to borrow fire from a neighbor; but those occasions had probably been infrequent.

There was doubtless a good fire in the cabin on February 12,

1809, when Abraham Lincoln was born. It was the season for good fires, and Thomas Lincoln, who had been in Elizabethtown at court during a part of the week preceding, returned home before Sunday. So there was fuel enough. There was probably enough of everything else, as judged by the standards of the time, but the equipment of the cabin was meager.

The bed where Nancy Lincoln lay with her baby beside her had one leg, driven in the earthen floor, with a side-rail running to the wall on one side, and a foot-rail running at right angles to the other wall. There may have been a bear-skin on the floor where little two-year-old Sarah sat and played. There was probably a rough table, made by Thomas Lincoln, and there may have been two or three stools and as many chairs.

The bed was probably not uncomfortable. There was almost certainly a feather-bed on top of the straw or husk mattress, and there were homespun blankets and coverlets. Thomas and Nancy Lincoln owned livestock and poultry, and there was presumably milk for Nancy and the baby, besides the simple luxury which may have been afforded by fresh eggs and fried chicken. There was enough to eat and there was shelter and rude comfort. People who have never slept in log cabins are likely either to idealize them or to exaggerate the hardship of living in them. Life in a log cabin lacks much of luxury, but it is not necessarily uncomfortable. I have never lived in a cabin, but I have spent many days and nights in them, and conditions had not greatly changed from those of Lincoln's childhood.

Considering the unsanitary conditions under which the greater part of the human race is born, it is remarkable that the generations continue to follow one another with unfailing regularity, and survive to produce succeeding generations. The Lincoln cabin was lacking in all modern conveniences and most modern comforts. Nancy did not miss them; she had never known them. It would have astonished her to know that the rough logs of the cabin where she lay would one day be enshrined in an imposing granite memorial; she never dreamt she dwelt in

marble halls. But she smiled a wan smile when she was told that her new baby was a boy. Both she and Thomas wanted a son, and their first child had been a girl. They could not give her the name which was waiting for a boy, so they had done the next best thing and called her Sarah.

Who were present when Abraham Lincoln was born?

If you are to believe the stories that are told you in and about Hodgenville, and the people who tell them intend to be truthful, the grandmothers of the entire present population of Larue County must have been there, with a number from counties adjacent. If all the people who are believed to have been present had actually been there, they would have packed the cabin and the front yard.

Nancy Lincoln had two aunts, Polly Friend and Elizabeth Sparrow, living near by, and one of those aunts was her foster mother. She did not lack for the attention which women are able to give to each other at such times. And there were other women in the neighborhood who were ready to assist. We may discount, therefore, the narratives of most of the truthful people who assure us that their maternal relatives were among those present. Of one thing we may be certain: Abraham Lincoln had such care at the time of his birth as was deemed requisite in the backwoods. His mother was not neglected, and the baby was passed around among an adequate group of well-intending women who were present to welcome him.

Not in 1809, but soon afterward, there died in Elizabethtown, Doctor Daniel B. Potter. He left a widow, and a large number of accounts due him from people to whom he had rendered professional service. I have ridden many miles in the Kentucky mountains side by side with the doctor, who kept his forceps within reach so that he did not need to dismount for so simple a matter as the extraction of a tooth, and who was ready for an emergency caused by anything from child-birth to gun-shot wounds. Doctor Potter was one of those hard-riding physicians who wore his life out in his fights with death, and who wasted

little time except the weary waits at each end of life—for both birth and death are tedious processes to hard-worked physicians. He left debts to the amount of $1,560.35¾. The court appointed a commission to collect the much larger sum that was due him from those who had been his patients, to pay his debts and give the remainder to his widow. The commissioners brought into court their final report, showing that they had been able to collect a total of $864.89½, leaving the estate still in debt $695.46¼. The commissioners reported the men who had paid, and among them was the name of Thomas Lincoln. At the time of the doctor's death, Thomas Lincoln owed him an unpaid balance of $1.46. It is a simple matter, but it shows that when Nancy needed a doctor, she had one, and that Thomas Lincoln paid the bill.

It is not likely that Thomas and Nancy depended on or called a physician when Abraham Lincoln was born. Physicians were too uncertain for dependence at such times. No tradition that I have been able to discover affirms that Doctor Potter or any other physician attended Nancy at the birth of Abraham. A local mid-wife was there; they called her "the granny-woman." Apparently, she did the few simple things that needed to be done, and Nancy's two aunts and the neighbor women assisted. In due time Thomas Lincoln stood awkwardly beside the bed of Nancy, and looked into the face of his son. Nancy also looked. The new-born babe is seldom an object of beauty save as affection gives prophetic vision of qualities that lie more than skin-deep. But Thomas and Nancy were both happy.

When I first visited Hodgenville and recorded the traditions that were then obtainable, I gathered, as it had come down from the women-folk who were present that day or who called during the days that followed, that Thomas Lincoln was kind to Nancy, and immensely proud of his boy. Maternal pride is not circumscribed by petty considerations of pulchritude. Abraham was a fine baby; we may be sure that all the women said so, and no one disputed the fact. Thomas Lincoln was a solid,

rather thick-set man, and so was the father of Thomas Carlyle. The two fathers were somewhat alike, and both the sons were tall and angular. We have no recorded word of Nancy concerning her first impression of her son, but there has been preserved a discriminating comment of Janet Carlyle. She said of her baby what Nancy might have said of hers, that he was "a lang, sprawling, ill-put-together thing."*

There was no discussion about the baby's name. It had been waiting for him ever since Sarah was born. It was a good name, the name of Thomas Lincoln's own father. A few years later there was a lawsuit concerning some land that had once belonged to him, and the question hinged upon the genuineness of a signature alleged to have been that of the father of Thomas Lincoln. The name in that signature was incorrectly spelled, and followed the backwoods pronunciation. Thomas Lincoln, an uncle of the president's father, was summoned from his home near Lexington to Frankfort, where he was shown the signature in the Land Office. He was asked whether he was familiar with the handwriting of his brother, and answered that he was familiar with it.

"How did he spell his name?" was the next interrogatory.

The answer under oath is still of record:

"He spelled it ABRAHAM LINCOLN."

**Carlyle Till Marriage.* David Alec Wilson, i, p. 23.

CHAPTER II

THE PARENTS OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN

Both of Abraham Lincoln's parents were born in Virginia, and both migrated into Kentucky in early childhood. When they met each other is not known. The story that they were first cousins is without foundation. It is likely that they were not acquainted before 1804 or 1805. The families from which they sprang were poor; it is not easy to say how poor without making them seem more so than they really were. They have been called "poor whites." They were poor and they were white, but they were not poor whites. They were of decent, average American stock. They were sober, honest, virtuous, religious and not quite illiterate. He was able "bunglingly to write his own name" and she is believed to have been able to read and write, though in the one document to which her name is signed, she made her mark. There was nothing in either of them that would lead us to expect so great a son; neither was there apparent any marked disqualification for such high honor. Of each of their families account will be given in succeeding chapters. We recite here the important facts as they relate to Thomas Lincoln, together with some account of Nancy Hanks; but the detailed story of her life belongs with the narrative of her family in a later chapter.

Thomas Lincoln, son of Abraham and Bathsheba Lincoln, was born on Linville Creek, in Rockingham County, Virginia, January 6, 1778. This date we accept from the record of his son, Abraham, and we depart here from the chronology of Lea and Hutchinson, in their handsome volume on *The Ancestry of Lin-*

coln, which since 1909 has furnished most biographers with their data. Of that book it is high praise to say that it is not always wrong. It will be cited in a few places in the present work, but for the most part it is to be rejected.*

The journey of the family of Abraham Lincoln, the grandfather, from Virginia to Kentucky, occurred in 1782, when Thomas was four years old. In the spring of 1786, the pioneer Abraham was killed by an Indian. He left a widow, three sons and two daughters.

From the time he was sixteen until he left Kentucky, we are able to account for Thomas Lincoln in the various official records of the two Kentucky counties of Washington and Hardin.†

In 1795 the name Thomas Lincoln appears on the tax lists of Washington County, Kentucky, as a minor above sixteen years of age, and also on May 16, 1796, as a white male above sixteen and under twenty-one. In 1799 he is listed for the first time as above twenty-one. If he was above sixteen in 1795, and above twenty-one in 1799, he must have been born between 1777 and 1779, which accords with the date given by his son, Abraham Lincoln the President.

There was fear of an Indian uprising in 1795, and Thomas Lincoln, then a boy of seventeen, served thirty days from June eighth to July seventh, as a private in Captain George Ewing's Company of Washington County Militia, under command of Brigadier General John Caldwell.

President Lincoln has told us that his father became "a wandering laboring boy" who grew up "literally without education," and that "before he was grown, he passed one year as a farm-hand with his uncle Isaac on Watauga." That year of

*That book furnished the material for the inscriptions upon the walls of the Memorial at Hodgenville, and those inscriptions are sadly inaccurate.

†I refer to my *Paternity of Abraham Lincoln,* for a list of important dates, arranged particularly to account for his movements in the period preceding the birth of Abraham. Other important dates are now given here, for the first time.

absence must have been 1798. There are authentic and indisputable Kentucky records bearing his name in every other calendar year from 1795 to 1816.

In 1800, Thomas Lincoln was taxed as a resident of Washington County, above twenty-one years. He owned a horse. On August 5, 1802, he was listed and taxed in Washington County, and still owned one horse. Cattle and hogs were not usually taxed in Washington County at this period, so we do not know whether he had any other property; probably one horse, owned before the boy became of age,* was his only taxable property. After 1802 his name disappears from the Washington County tax lists.

It has been affirmed by many writers that Mordecai, the eldest brother of Thomas Lincoln, inherited the whole of his father's property; and that under the old Virginia law of primogeniture, Thomas, and perhaps with him the middle brother Josiah, was wronged out of his part of his father's estate.

This is a serious charge against Mordecai, by some authors extended to include Josiah also, and it has no known foundation. Indubitably the English law of primogeniture, which was the law in Virginia, held in Kentucky. As Abraham Lincoln died intestate, and all his children were minors, the court appointed administrators to serve until the eldest boy was of age. But it does not follow that Mordecai, either alone or in conspiracy with Josiah, was otherwise than just to his younger brothers and sisters. We have good reason to believe that in this, as in all else, Mordecai was a just man and a faithful older brother; and we have reason also to respect his brother Josiah.

Mordecai, when he came of age, accepted his inheritance under the law, for he, only, had standing in court as the heir-at-law of his deceased father. But soon after Josiah came of age, we find Mordecai selling part of his father's land, and Josiah buying land for cash; and, in 1802, we find Mordecai selling more land,

*He probably owned a horse before he journeyed into East Tennessee to spend a year working on the farm of his uncle.

and Thomas buying a farm and paying for it in cash. What Mordecai did with the money he received from the two sales of land is not, of course, a matter of court record; and by the same token there is no record showing where either Josiah or Thomas obtained money with which to buy land. But the inference* is unmistakable. Mordecai acted as guardian of the interests of his minor brothers and sisters and dealt honorably with them.

Another event of importance occurred. On February 3, 1801, a license was issued for the marriage of Nancy Lincoln, the younger of the two sisters of Thomas, to William Brumfield, and the marriage was duly celebrated.†

William and Nancy Brumfield removed to Mill Creek in Hardin County, and there, in time, Bathsheba, the widowed mother of the Lincoln family, went to reside, and continued to live there with her youngest daughter until her death in 1836. This was probably the reason why Thomas Lincoln invested his patrimony in a farm on Mill Creek.‡

From January, 1803, until October, 1816, we have numerous records of Thomas Lincoln as resident of Hardin County. His name appears regularly on the tax lists (and he paid his taxes), on jury-lists, in several lawsuits (in which he uniformly was the winner of the suit), in payments for guarding prisoners (for he was for a time a "patrolman" or sort of deputy constable), in

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*I am pleased to see that Miss Tarbell adopts this view in her last book, taking her information from my address before the Filson Club of Louisville, Kentucky, December 4, 1922, on *The Lincolns in Their Old Kentucky Home.* This was, as I suppose, the first time the theory was propounded, and it is so reasonable and just, I am confident it will be generally adopted henceforth. I acknowledge Miss Tarbell's courtesy in the generous credit she gives me in this and other matters.

†The date of the bond is February third, and the marriage return is dated January 13, 1801, and signed by Thomas Kyle. This minister was of the Disciples Church, and he signed his name with bold flourish to each of his many marriage returns. Whether he made a mistake in the date of this return, or whether, as was sometimes the case, the minister himself issued a license, we may not know. When I was a circuit-riding preacher in the Tennessee mountains I was permitted by the county court to issue licenses and accept bonds, but I have not discovered a similar practise in Kentucky. It is a minor discrepancy, and of no great importance.

‡Concerning this farm, see my *The Paternity of Abraham Lincoln.* All previous works had been in error concerning it.

auction sales of estates which required to be reported to the court, and in other records which have survived the ravages of time, and have been exhumed in the course of research for this work.*

These records, more than a hundred in number, are commonplace enough taken singly, but they afford us what is to all intents and purposes a documentary chronology of the life of Thomas Lincoln from the time he was sixteen years of age until he left Kentucky. He bought his Mill Creek farm in Hardin County from Doctor John Toms Slater, September 2, 1803, having already become a resident of Hardin County. So far as we know, he never lived on this farm. He did not sell it until October 27, 1814, but neither did he abandon it. He paid taxes upon it, and it is to be supposed that he rented it to tenants, perhaps to the Miltons to whom he later conveyed it. He probably worked this farm in 1804, living with his mother and sister, but by 1805 he was in Elizabethtown, working at his trade of carpenter.

Recent fiction, published as biography, tends to make Nancy

*When I began work on this book hardly a single correct date had been discovered by Lincoln biographers concerning Thomas Lincoln, save only those of his two marriages and his appointment as road surveyor. The dates both of birth and death were uncertain, and not one of the tax lists or court records above referred to was known to exist. I am indebted to a number of friends for assistance in this matter. Honorable Joseph Polin, County Attorney of Washington County, assisted me in the discovery of the Washington County lists, and it was he who helped me also to exhume three additional lists of marriage returns by Jesse Head, each one of them containing about a year's marriages performed by him. Honorable L. S. Pence, of Lebanon, Kentucky, and Honorable George Holbert, of Elizabethtown, added important data. Mrs. Cannon, of the Kentucky Historical Society, while engaged in search for me, discovered valuable lists in a lot of papers that had not seen the light of day for many years, and were to have been burned, these adding material of very great value. But most important of all my assistants as regards Thomas Lincoln has been Reverend Louis A. Warren. When I first met him, he was pastor at Hodgenville, and later removed to Elizabethtown, and thence to Morganfield. He has become an investigator of unusual skill and persistence, and is soon to release the results of his extensive research which includes the copies of over two thousand public records. Much of this unpublished material he has generously permitted me to use. To Mr. Warren and his forthcoming volume, I make grateful reference. His work will be invaluable to all who wish to possess a complete documentary account of the Lincolns in their Kentucky environment.

Hanks a blonde. She was tall, dark and sallow. Her hair was dark brown, almost black. Her eyes were small and gray. She had a prominent forehead, a feature remarked by all the relatives who have given account of her, and it was regarded by them as an indication of unusual mental ability. She was above medium height, and weighed about one hundred and thirty pounds. She had a slight stoop, and her appearance suggested a tubercular tendency. Her face was thin, sharp and angular. Her disposition was cheerful, and she had an exuberant spirit which sometimes broke over restraint and expressed itself in care-free merriment; but this mood alternated with one of melancholy. All who knew her and whose reports have come down to us, remark the habitual sadness of her features in repose. She was gentle, capable and strong; amiable, friendly and kind. Nancy's mother could write, but that was not true either of the Hankses generally or of the Sparrows among whom Nancy spent her girlhood. She, however, received some education; we do not know how much, but her relations thought it remarkable, and considering her circumstances it may be so regarded.

When, in 1851, Thomas Lincoln died, Abraham Lincoln broke over his habitual reserve, and spoke somewhat freely to his partner, William H. Herndon, of his father and also of his mother:

> Mr. Lincoln himself said to me in 1851, on receiving news of his father's death, that whatever might be said of his parents, and however unpromising the early surroundings of his mother may have been, she was highly intellectual by nature, had a strong memory, acute judgment, and was cool and heroic.*

He was not speaking of her direct influence upon him, but of qualities which he believed himself to have inherited from her, when he used the much quoted expression regarding his mother; but we have good reason to believe that had she lived she would have had a potent influence for good upon his youth and young

*Herndon's *Lincoln*, i, p. 13. All references to Herndon's *Lincoln* are to the first edition.

manhood. With still better reason would he have said, "God bless my mother; all that I am or hope to be I owe to her."

We are hardly to credit the story that Nancy was living in the home of her uncle, Joseph Hanks, in Elizabethtown, when she became engaged to marry Thomas Lincoln, for Joseph was himself unmarried at the time. In May, 1806, he bought a farm with livestock and household goods, on Rough Creek, in Grayson County, near his brother William. Yet the story appears to have a basis of truth. Joseph Hanks, who had gone back to Virginia after the death of his father, had returned to Kentucky, and was working with Thomas Lincoln near Elizabethtown. They were both carpenters. Joseph had two married sisters living in that county, and with one of them, Elizabeth Sparrow, Nancy was living. It is therefore probably true that Thomas Lincoln's association as a fellow-craftsman with Joseph led to his acquaintance with Nancy Hanks.

We do not know why the marriage occurred in Washington County. The early home of Thomas was there, and his brothers resided where he had grown up; but the wedding did not take place in either of their houses. The bride's home had never been in Washington, nor had any of her immediate family ever resided there. But it is not strange that the wedding should have occurred in that place.

At the time of her marriage, June 12, 1806, she was in Washington County, in the home of one of the Berrys. Thither Thomas Lincoln followed her, and, his own mother having removed to Hardin County, and the homes of his two brothers being perhaps less suited to a wedding than the home of the Berrys, they were married there.

Undue reliance has been placed upon an account of the behavior of "one of the Hanks girls" at a camp-meeting which J. B. Helm, fifty-nine years afterward, thought he remembered having attended, and a Minneapolis lawyer, a Methodist, supposing that none but Methodists held camp-meetings, has accepted this story as proof that Nancy Hanks was a Methodist,

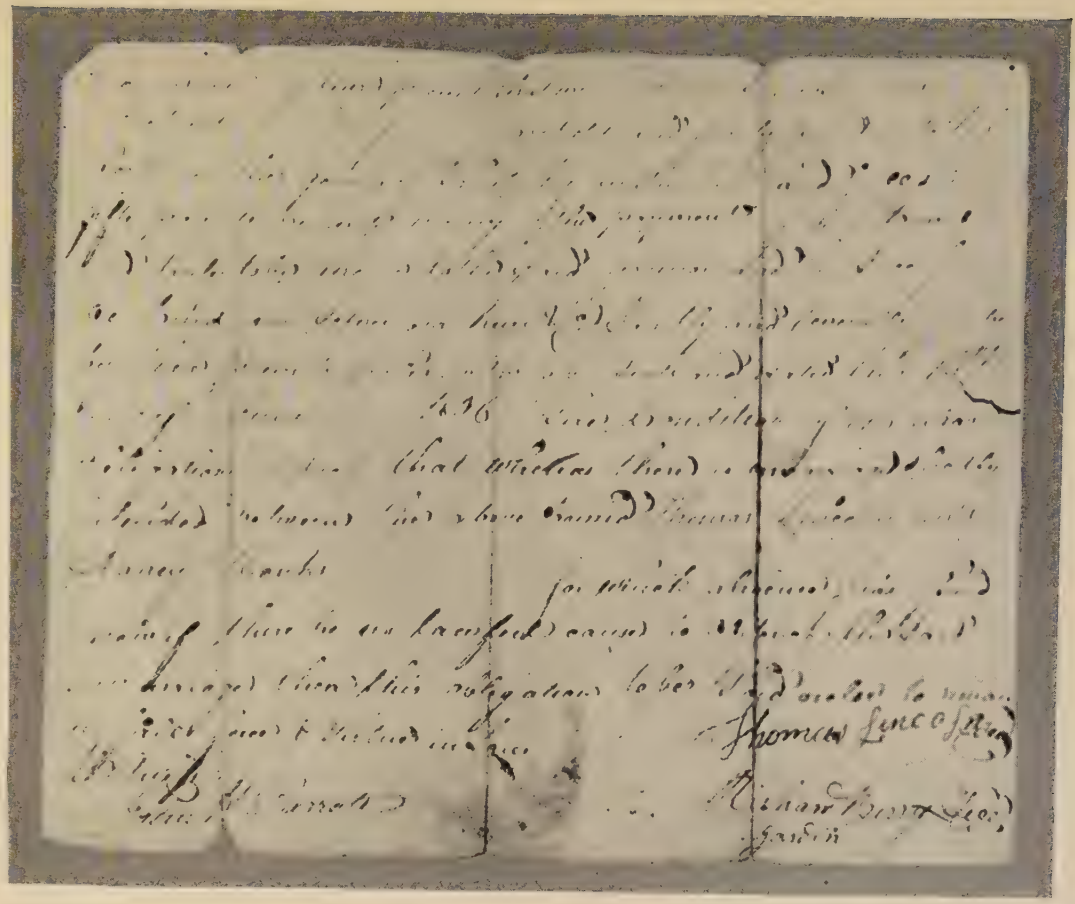
and that, honoring his mother as he did, Abraham Lincoln must have been of the same denomination.* But old men do not recall incidents that have lain buried for fifty-nine years, and tell them exactly as they occurred; and Helm did not pretend to know which of the Hanks girls it was who cavorted at the camp-meeting. It was not Nancy. She was not there. And camp-meetings were not held in corn-plowing time.†

The Lincolns were Baptists, and so were the Hankses. Thomas Lincoln and Nancy Hanks were married by a neighbor, the Reverend Jesse Head, who was a Methodist. This minister is an important part of the story of Abraham Lincoln, but his denomination was not the same as theirs.

President Lincoln did not know in what county his parents were married. When he was nominated for the presidency in 1860, Samuel Haycraft, the county clerk of Hardin County, wrote to him asking if he were not the son of Thomas Lincoln and Sarah Bush, and Lincoln replied that Thomas Lincoln was his father, but by an earlier marriage. Haycraft found the record of the marriage of Thomas Lincoln and Sarah Bush, but could not discover any record of Thomas Lincoln's marriage to Nancy Hanks. Such other search as was made immediately afterward yielded no satisfactory results; but, in 1878, through the efforts of R. M. Thompson, who had heard the story from an old man, William Hardesty, a search was made among the records of Washington County, and the county clerk, W. F. Booker, discovered the marriage bond of Thomas Lincoln for his marriage to Nancy Hanks, together with the marriage return of Jesse Head, as deacon in the Methodist Episcopal Church. This was

*_A Defence of Lincoln's Mother_, by J. M. Martin. It is based on Helm's story in Herndon, i, pp. 14-15.

†Mr. Helm, whose memory was at fault in other matters and may have been in this, told Herndon that the young woman who rode with him to the camp-meeting, and who witnessed this performance with him, and identified the leading participants, said to him that this religiously demonstrative Hanks girl and the young man who shared this incident with her were to be married in the following week. This makes us certain that the girl can not have been Nancy Hanks. She and Thomas Lincoln were married June twelfth, too early in the season for camp-meetings.



MARRIAGE BOND FOR MARRIAGE OF THOMAS LINCOLN AND NANCY HANKS
Photographed for this work

a most important discovery, and it started inquiry as to the personality of Jesse Head. This inquiry established the fact that Jesse Head spent his last years at Harrodsburg, but facts concerning him appeared to be meager. In 1882, Doctor Christopher Columbus Graham, who had owned the Harrodsburg Springs for several years prior to 1852, related his recollections of Jesse Head, whom he had known during a part of his residence in Harrodsburg. Doctor Graham was then ninety-eight years old, so it is not surprising that the old man forgot to tell that he had been present when Jesse Head married Doctor Graham himself to Theresa Sutton, October 8, 1820. Instead, he fancied that he had been present at the marriage of Thomas and Nancy Lincoln. The more he was interviewed, the more he remembered. His affidavit issued in his one-hundredth year elaborated considerably the original statement, and the final form of his story was that he had been present at the marriage of Abraham Lincoln himself.*

If Doctor Graham had actually been present at the marriage of Thomas and Nancy Lincoln, there was a period of several years in which he could have rendered a most valuable service by telling of the fact. He did not publish it then, nor until his story was practically valueless as evidence. At every point where he attempted to enlarge upon the information which the records gave, his statement was untrue. He probably never saw the Lincolns. Miss Tarbell has not assisted us in her wide-spread publication of Doctor Graham's story. He was an old man in his dotage, in the hands of men some of whom had their own reasons for wanting him to testify as he did. And it is this man's testimony that furnishes much of the information in the tablets upon the walls of the Lincoln memorial at Hodgenville!

It is discouraging to have these fabrications wide-spread by authors who intend to be truthful, and then accepted by a public that has all too little discrimination. Doctor Graham, in his gar-

*See his letter to Robert T. Lincoln in the Durrett Collection, University of Chicago.

rulous romancing, told that Jesse Head was an ardent abolitionist, Graham himself being a slave-holder and a southern sympathizer; that Thomas Lincoln and both his wives were "chock-full of the liberty-loving principles" which Head had derived from Thomas Paine and others, and that thus Thomas Lincoln became, and Abraham Lincoln was born, an abolitionist. He further said that Jesse Head could have afforded slaves, but did not own them. He might better have said that Jesse Head could not afford slaves, but did own them. Both in Washington and Mercer Counties, Jesse Head was a slave-owner. And, being editor of a newspaper, he had no scruples against advertising rewards for the arrest of runaway slaves, and their lodgment in jail for return to their masters. He was a hard-hitting Democrat of the old school, and he did not love Henry Clay, but admired Andrew Jackson.*

On the question of slavery, Jesse Head was neither in advance of nor behind his own generation. He was a good man, a worthy and faithful pioneer preacher; but none of the things that Christopher Columbus Graham tells of him are true. Miss Tarbell's friends were not satisfied with Doctor Graham's story, but added a forged certificate of the marriage of Thomas and Nancy Lincoln, separate from the marriage return. She was imposed upon by people whom she trusted.†

The Kentucky marriage law was the old Virginia law. It required that before the clerk of the court issued a marriage license, he should secure a bond from two responsible citizens, to indemnify him against the possibility of issuing a license for a marriage that might not legally be performed. The law did not specify what citizens should sign the bond, but with practical uniformity the first signer was the prospective bridegroom; and

*In the Appendix I give some account of this interesting man—Jesse Head.

†This fraudulent certificate, published in entire good faith, appears in Miss Tarbell's *Early Life of Lincoln*, p. 31. I note that the document itself was sold in a New York book auction in 1921, and the catalogue called attention to the questionable nature of this certificate.

usually his surety was the bride's father, if she had a father, or some relative or friend who was known to represent her interests. This "guardian" was not appointed by the court, but was a friend who assumed a guardianship of the bride's interest for the purposes of the marriage license. Almost any bystander in a Kentucky court-house will sign a marriage bond; and in all the one hundred and fifty years during which they have been issued the Commonwealth has never once instituted suit.

Richard Berry signed Thomas Lincoln's bond as "guardian" of Nancy Hanks, she being then twenty-three years old, and sentimental writers have imagined that she must have been legally adopted by her "kind Uncle Richard Berry." Richard Berry, Sr., died in 1798; and the signer of the bond was Thomas Lincoln's friend, the second Richard Berry, whose wife, Polly Ewing, was a friend of Nancy.

The bond was issued June 10, 1806, and two days later, Thomas Lincoln and Nancy Hanks were married.

William Hardesty, born in 1798, and living less than a half-mile away, professed to have slipped over and attended the wedding; and so far forth his story is wholly probable. It was largely his recollection that led to the discovery of the marriage bond, and for it he deserves credit. But, unfortunately, like other old men who have interesting recollections, when he began to recall the part he remembered, he was able to remember also a number of events that never occurred, as, for instance, the birth of Abraham Lincoln in Washington County, and his having seen the little lad, Abraham, playing about the door of the house which he believed to have been that of Thomas Lincoln. But William Hardesty might easily have been at the wedding, just as he declared; and his evidence is much better than that of Doctor Graham, which is worthless.

The house where Thomas and Nancy are believed to have been married stood near an excellent spring, not far from Beech Fork of Salt River. A little settlement is near, sometimes called Beechland and sometimes Poortown. The latter name has not

been satisfactorily accounted for; the inhabitants were not poorer than their neighbors; indeed, the community was rather prosperous than otherwise.

Weddings in the backwoods were joyous and boisterous affairs, with plenty to eat and more than enough to drink. In all probability there was a fiddle and a dance. But it was an orderly affair, as we may believe, for the Berrys and their neighbors were men and women of standing in the community, and the merriment is not likely to have exceeded proper bounds. Besides, Thomas and Nancy were religious people, and the time was one of religious activity in that locality.

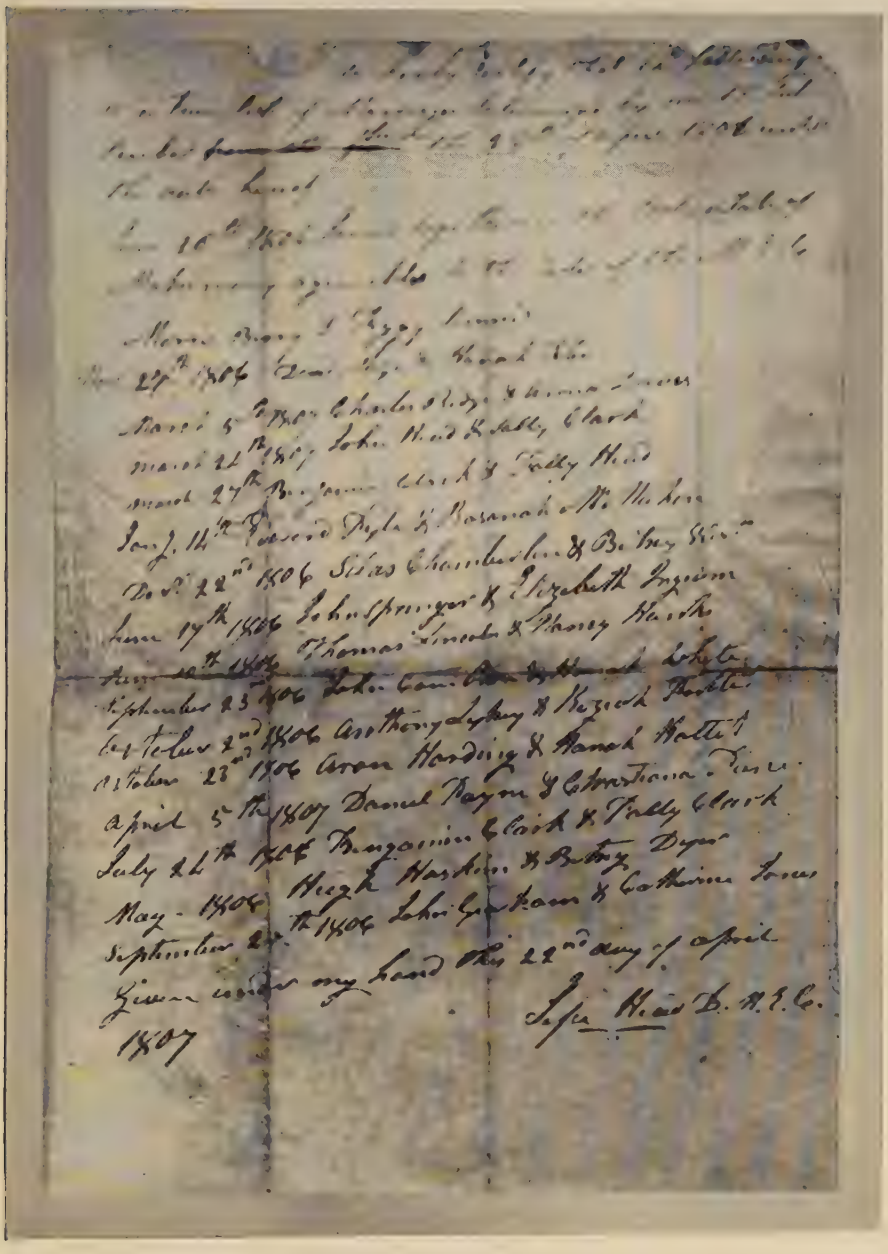
It is not improbable that the widow, Bathsheba Lincoln, rode back from Mill Creek to attend the wedding of her youngest son. Mordecai and Josiah, with their wives, were doubtless there to see their brother married; Thomas's older sister, Mary, and her husband, Ralph Crume, may have been there. If Bathsheba was present, so also, in all likelihood, was her youngest daughter, Nancy Brumfield. There was no lack of Lincolns in attendance.

But who of the Hanks family was there when Nancy was married? None of them lived in Washington County. Nancy's welcome in the homes of that locality depended upon no known tie of kinship, nor yet of any friendly interest save that which she herself had earned or some member of the Sparrow family had won for her. It is not likely that her Aunt Elizabeth and her Uncle Thomas Sparrow, whom she called father and mother, were absent; and it is possible that her Aunt Polly Friend or even her Aunt Nancy Hall was there.

But I have not been able to stop with these probabilities. Only twenty miles away—I have measured the distance with a speedometer, an instrument of which she never heard, while riding in a vehicle that would have amazed her—lived another woman who was called her aunt.

I wonder if she was there.

I wonder if she could keep away.



MARRIAGE RETURN OF REVEREND JESSE HEAD
Certifying the Marriage of Thomas Lincoln and Nancy Hanks
Photographed for this work

CHAPTER III

THE LINCOLNS

When Abraham Lincoln wrote his autobiographical sketch for Jesse W. Fell, in December, 1859, he said concerning his ancestors of the name of Lincoln:

An effort to identify them with the New England family of the same name ended in nothing more definite than a similarity of Christian names in both families, such as Enoch, Levi, Mordecai, Solomon, Abraham, and the like.

Subsequent and more thorough investigation, however, made the identification complete. The Lincolns are of New England origin.*

Not only are the American Lincolns of New England extraction, but the family in colonial times was almost wholly restricted to Massachusetts. The adjutant general of the United States Army has searched the records of the War Department and finds not a single Revolutionary soldier of the name of Lincoln from Virginia or the states farther South. The United States records show soldiers of the name of Lincoln, Linkhorn and Linkon as follows: Maryland 1, Pennsylvania 4, New York 1, Rhode Island 1, New Hampshire 7, Connecticut 10 and Massachusetts 44.

*Waldo Lincoln's *History of the Lincoln Family*, Worcester, Massachusetts, 1923, will stand, I judge, as the authoritative record of the Lincolns in America. Marion Dexter Learned's *Abraham Lincoln, An American Migration*, Philadelphia, 1909, written to disprove the thesis of Louis P. Hennighausen that the Lincolns were of German origin, clearly makes that point and in addition gives a good account of the migrations of the Lincolns in America. Lea and Hutchinson, in their *Ancestry of Abraham Lincoln*, appear to have done good work in the English ancestry of the Lincoln family, but not to have established its connection with the family in America; and in their American line I have found them so often in error that I no longer trust them in any matter where documentary proof is not available.

These records, of course, are incomplete. A search of the records of particular states, including the enrollments of militia which may duplicate names, increases the preponderance of Massachusetts. Mr. Charles Z. Lincoln, in an address at Taunton, Massachusetts, July 12, 1906, said that he had made careful search among the state records, and had found one Revolutionary soldier named Lincoln from New York, one from Pennsylvania, and three from New Jersey—only six outside of New England, and only fourteen from New England States other than Massachusetts, while Massachusetts showed on her various muster rolls not less than 335 men named Lincoln.

It may be worth while to recall that Taunton long believed itself to have been the ancestral home of the forebears of Abraham Lincoln. At the time of the outbreak of the Revolution an important branch of the Lincoln family lived in that city. One of the sons, named Abraham, born November 9, 1761, is alleged to have had a violent altercation with a Tory, as a result of which he ran away from home and settled in Pennsylvania, married and was later killed by the Indians. The fact that the Taunton Lincolns were iron-founders, and that those in Pennsylvania were, some of them, of the same craft, lent color to this belief.* But this view has now generally been abandoned.

Concerning the spelling of the name and its alleged origin in other forms, as Linkhorn, and its supposed evolution into Lincoln,† little present comment is necessary.

Norman Hapgood, in his *Abraham Lincoln, the Man of the People,* a book written in an excellent spirit but with fine disregard of fact, says of Thomas Lincoln:

He was a Jackson Democrat who couldn't write his name until his first wife taught him to scrawl it, the farthest reach of edu-

*An extended and apparently conclusive article on this subject by James Minor Lincoln, of New York, was published in the *Taunton Herald-News* for February 10, 1909.

†See the chapter entitled "Was Abraham Lincoln a German?" in the author's *The Paternity of Abraham Lincoln.* Also *Abraham Lincoln, an American Migration,* by Marion Dexter Learned.

cation he ever acquired. His name was, under the circumstances, unstable; but in Indiana it showed a general drift toward Linkern, away from the favorite Kentucky form of Linckhorn, settling in its present spelling many years later in Illinois. (pp. 4-5.)

The name Lincoln, in common with all other names, was often misspelled in the backwoods. Pronunciations showed strange perversities, and spelling varied with the pronunciation. But Thomas Lincoln invariably signed his name Lincoln, and so did his father Abraham, and so did his grandfather John, and so did his great-grandfather Mordecai, and so did the original American ancestor of this branch of the Lincoln family, Samuel Lincoln, of Hingham, Massachusetts. Moreover, they were all able to write their names.

The misspelling "Linkhorn" and the other Kentucky variants are of no significance as concerns nationality or family lineage. James M. Lincoln, of Wareham, Massachusetts, in a newspaper article published and copied in various papers in New England of the date of May 30, 1910, said that he had found in early Massachusetts documents the following variance in the spelling of the name Lincoln: Linkon, Linkhorn, Lincol, Linclon, Lincorn, Linkoln, Linkclon, Linkord, Linkhoom, Lincon, Linclin, Lancoln, Lincham, Lincolem, Linkhon, Linkton, Lincolan, Linchorney, Linckhorn, Lenks, Linchorn, Lincolin, Linkalon, Linklon, Linckin, Lincolon, Linculor, Linkhoren, Lincott, Linckhornew, Lincornew, Lynklyn, Linckomeal and Lincoln.

If they do such things in the green tree, what may be expected in the dry? If Massachusetts thus misspelled the name of one of her best colonial families, the name of one of her Revolutionary generals, of two governors and of many judges and members of her Legislature, there can be little wonder that on the frontier the name was occasionally misspelled. Those have disquieted themselves in vain who have striven to establish theories of their own based upon variant spellings of the name of the president's ancestors.

The name Lincoln is first a place-name, and then, by its application to residents in that place, a family name. It goes back to the days of Roman occupation of England, and shares with Cologne on the Rhine the honor of being one of the two names that preserve the Latin abbreviation for "colonia," or colony. "Lind-colonia" by successive abbreviations became Lincoln; the silent letter *l* is reminiscent of this derivation. The family of Lincoln presumably originated in the County of Lincoln, but that is too far remote for any accurate knowledge.

There is some reason to believe that the American Lincolns are descended from those of that name who, in the seventeenth century, lived in Hingham, England; and in the faith that this was true, a bust of Abraham Lincoln was dedicated in the old church in that English village as the World War was drawing to a close. The orator who represented the United States on that occasion was no other than the American ambassador to the court of St. James, the Honorable John W. Davis, and his speech, as printed in the English newspapers, was a good one. The question upon which the connection depends is: was Samuel Lincoln, who came to New England in 1637, sailing from Yarmouth April eighth, arriving in Boston, June twentieth, and after a brief residence with his employer Francis Lawes in Salem, making his home in Hingham, Massachusetts, the same Samuel who was baptized in Hingham, Old England, Sunday, August 24, 1622? If so, he would have been fifteen years of age when he reached New England, assuming that he was baptized within a few days after his birth. But Samuel Lincoln who came over with Francis Lawes in 1637 gave his age as nineteen, and when he died in 1690 his age was given as seventy-one. We can not very well believe that his baptism was postponed four years, for it was the custom of his father, Edward Lincoln, to appear at somewhat regular intervals at the old Hingham church with a baby for baptism, and he did so appear on March 28, 1619, with a son Daniel. This practically forbids our believing that Samuel was born to the same parents in that same year.

However, there is one possibility that must be reckoned with. Samuel Lincoln, being only fifteen, but apprenticed to an employer who wanted to take him to America and Samuel himself greatly desiring to go, may have marked his age up a matter of four years in fear lest his youth should cause his refusal, or in desire that he might earlier reach his majority in the freedom of the new world. I should like to accept this as the case; for there is considerable reason to believe that the Lincolns of Hingham in the new world came from Hingham in the old world.* It is but fair to state, however, that the hypothesis of misrepresentation of his own age by Samuel Lincoln does not solve the difficulty, which involves a longer genealogical discussion than is here practicable, and with no sure answer to the question.

Whatever uncertainty attaches to the English lineage, the first American ancestor of Abraham Lincoln, in the male line, was Samuel Lincoln. He was born in England, apprenticed as a weaver, and came to Salem, Massachusetts, June 20, 1637. He died in Hingham, Massachusetts, May 26, 1690, aged seventy-one. He married in America, before 1650, Martha, whose surname is unknown. She died April 10, 1693. Samuel and Martha Lincoln became the parents of eleven children, of whom eight survived them. Their fourth child, Mordecai, was born at Hingham, Massachusetts, June 14, 1657, and died November 8, 1727, aged seventy.

Mordecai Lincoln was an iron founder. He married Sarah Jones, daughter of Abraham Jones, of Hull. She died before February 17, 1701-2, on which date he took a second wife. It is probably through Sarah's father that the name Abraham became prominent in the Lincoln family.

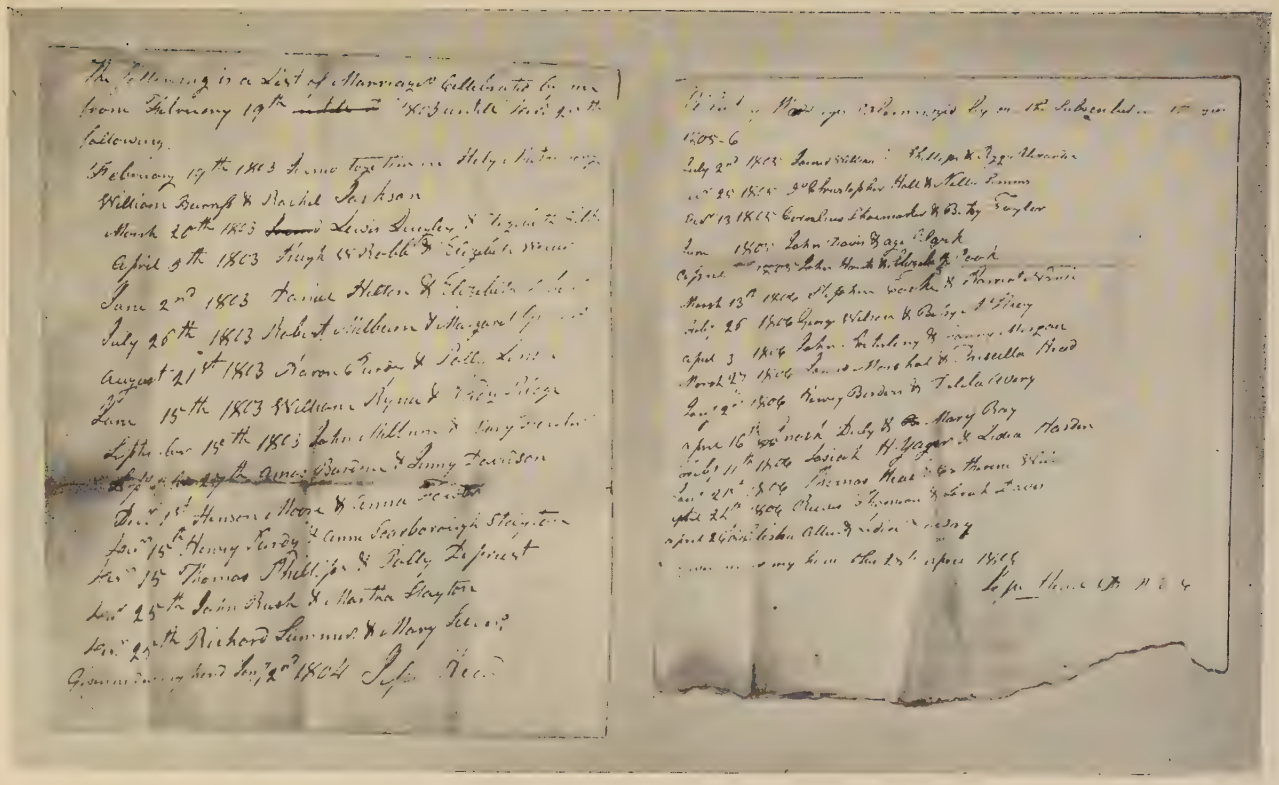
The eldest son of Mordecai Lincoln and his wife Sarah Jones was Mordecai Lincoln, who was born in Hingham, Massa-

*Lea and Hutchinson, in their *Ancestry of Lincoln*, have accepted and made popular the theory of the rise of the Lincoln family in Hingham in England, and it is upon their authority that the bust was erected in 1919. Waldo Lincoln, in his new *History of the Lincoln Family*, is skeptical about it. I should be the more glad to believe that Lea and Hutchinson were right in this particular, because I have found them wrong in so many other matters.

chusetts, April 24, 1686, and removed before 1710 to Monmouth County, New Jersey. Like his father, he was an iron founder. He married before 1714, Hannah, daughter of Richard and Sarah (Bowne) Salter, of Freehold, New Jersey. He died May 12, 1736.

The eldest son of Mordecai and Hannah was John Lincoln, born May 3, 1716. He was a weaver, and lived in Caernarvon, Lancaster County, and subsequently in Berks County, Pennsylvania. He removed to Virginia about 1768. On July 5, 1743, he married Mrs. Rebecca (Flowers) Morris. Genealogists call him "Virginia John," probably to distinguish him from his nephew John, of Uniontown, Pennsylvania. His Virginia home was in the Shenandoah Valley, in that part of Augusta which is now Rockingham County, eight miles north of the present town of Harrisonburg. President Lincoln believed that his great-grandfather John was a Quaker. This belief was based upon a "vague tradition." In such investigation as I have been able to make, I do not find this tradition confirmed, or that there were any Lincolns who were Quakers, except as members of the Lincoln family now and then intermarried with Quakers, none of them in direct line of Abraham Lincoln. John Lincoln was about fifty-seven years of age when he removed to Virginia. He and his wife Rebecca made deeds on August 7, 1773. The precise years of their deaths have but recently been discovered. John died in November, 1788, on Linville Creek, Virginia, and is there buried. His will was probated June 22, 1789. His widow, Rebecca, died July 20, 1806.

The eldest son of John and Rebecca Lincoln was Abraham Lincoln, the Kentucky pioneer, grandfather of the president. He was born in Berks County, Pennsylvania, May 13, 1744. As a young man he accompanied his father to Virginia, and from him, August 12, 1773, obtained a grant of two hundred acres of land on Linville Creek, in Augusta, now Rockingham County. He was a captain of Virginia Militia during the Revolution, but it is uncertain whether he saw active military service in that war.



MARRIAGE RETURNS OF REVEREND JESSE HEAD

Immediately preceding and following that in which the Lincoln marriage is recorded
Discovered at Springfield, Kentucky, by the author and Honorable Joseph Polin

I find no record of the church membership of "Virginia John" Lincoln, or of his son Abraham; but Abraham's brother John was one of the most active official members in the Linville Baptist Church, some of whose services were held in the home of their brother, Jacob Lincoln.

The name of Abraham Lincoln's wife has been given in many books as Mary Shipley; and this name having been suggested to her great-grandson, Honorable J. L. Nall, he somewhat hesitatingly accepted it as that of his great-grandmother. He had a dim recollection of her, she having died in 1836, in the home of her daughter, his grandmother, Nancy Brumfield. Later it was discovered that Abraham Lincoln was licensed to marry, January 9, 1770, the name of the bride being omitted. Nicolay and Hay adopted Mr. Nall's view that the name of Abraham Lincoln's wife was Mary Shipley.*

Subsequently it was discovered that Abraham Lincoln had a wife living in 1780 and 1781, whose name was Bathsheba. One school of writers thereafter claimed Mary as the first wife, mother of all his children except Thomas; and a later school, finding this position untenable, advanced the theory that Bathsheba Herring was the first wife and Mary Shipley the second. Both were in error. There was no Mary Shipley Lincoln. The children of Abraham Lincoln had one mother; her name was Bathsheba, probably Bathsheba Herring.

In July, 1776, Daniel Boone's Survey Book entered a memorandum of one thousand acres of land in the name of "Lincoln." This can hardly have been Abraham Lincoln. It is more likely to have been Hannaniah Lincoln.

On March 4, 1780, there were issued to Abraham Lincoln three land warrants, Numbers 3333, 3334 and 3335, each acknowledging receipt of one hundred sixty pounds, and each calling for four hundred acres of land.†

**Abraham Lincoln: A History*, i, p. 5.

†For information concerning the Virginia Lincolns supplementing my own investigations on the ground, I am indebted to Professor John W. Wayland and Honorable John T. Harris, both of Harrisonburg, Virginia.

The Entry Book of Jefferson County shows these two entries of 1780:

May 29, 1780. Abraham Linkhorn enters four hundred acres of land on Treasury Warrant lying on Floyd's Fork, lying about two miles above Teice's Fork, beginning at a sugar tree S. B. thence east three hundred poles thence north to include a small improvement.

June 7, 1780. Abraham Linkhorn enters eight hundred acres upon Treasury Warrant about six miles below Green River Lick including an improvement made by Jacob Gum and Owen Diver.

On October 12, 1784, an official survey was made of his eight hundred acres of land on Green River, in which survey he assisted, and for which he deposited his two Treasury Warrants 3333 and 3335. His patent was issued May 17, 1787, signed by Beverly Randolph, Lieutenant Governor of Virginia.*

A special interest attaches to the land patented under Treasury Warrant 3334. The original warrant is preserved, and is in the Durrett Collection in the University of Chicago, and there also is full record of the official survey. This was made May 7, 1785, and Abraham Lincoln, the president's grandfather, was present and assisted as a marker. This land is about fifteen miles from Louisville. It is located on Long Run of Floyd's Fork, and lies north and east of the little village of Boston. Most of the farm is situated in Jefferson County, but its eastern end is in Shelby.†

*This record is in the Land Office in Frankfort, from which I have certified copy.

†I am indebted to Mr. R. C. Ballard-Thruston, of the Filson Club of Louisville, for a painstaking search of documentary material which, with careful examination of the ground, enabled us to identify beyond question the Lincoln farm, and also the site of Hughes Station. The latter is on the patent of Morgan Hughes, surveyed on the same day as that of Abraham Lincoln, and adjoins it upon the north. Colonel R. C. Durrett located Hughes' Station at the mouth of Long Run, and in this was mistaken. We were accompanied on this expedition by Mr. Hardin Helm Herr, a nephew of Mrs. Abraham Lincoln. Mr. Ballard-Thruston and I have gone over the ground again, gathering up additional data which leaves no doubt of the correctness of our conclusions. On a subsequent visit we were accompanied by Reverend Louis A. Warren, and Mr. Thomas C. Fisher.

Abraham Lincoln's first journey into Kentucky appears to have been in the summer of 1780. He returned to Virginia, and later came again into Kentucky with his family. On December 11, 1780, he entered five hundred additional acres. For some reason the estate of Abraham Lincoln presented to the Nelson County court contained only a list of personal property. The administrators were men of probity, and the land-holdings must have been otherwise accounted for. For some reason, also, the lands that had belonged to Abraham Lincoln before his death were not accounted for in the earlier tax lists of Mordecai Lincoln. He paid taxes on the hundred-acre tract on Beech Fork in Washington County, but this was not an original Lincoln entry; it was purchased apparently by Bathsheba, the original entry having been made by Matthew Walton. This was all the land on which Mordecai paid taxes in his own name in 1792 and 1795. In 1796 he began paying taxes on five additional tracts of land:

400 acres on Floyd's Fork in Jefferson County, entered in the name of Abraham Lincoln.
1134¼ acres on Green River in Hardin County, entered in the name of John Reed.
800 acres on Green River, Lincoln County, entered in the name of Abraham Lincoln.
1000 acres on Kentucky River, Lincoln County, entered in the name of Abraham Bird.
1000 acres on Kentucky River, Lincoln County, entered in the name of Abraham Bird.

This makes a total of 4,334¼ acres.

In the 1799 list, the Jefferson County tract is not listed, though Mordecai did not deed that land to Benjamin Bridges till 1822. Doubtless the reason was that the land was already sold to Bridges under contract, as was the frequent custom, and that Bridges paid the taxes during the interval. The Jefferson County tax lists have been burned.

It should be noted that of the land listed by Mordecai in 1796, two thousand acres in Lincoln County, entered by Abraham

Bird, probably had not belonged to Abraham Lincoln. We are able to account for the four hundred acres on Floyd's Fork and the eight hundred on Green River, and the John Reed land is that about which the lawsuit occurred some years later.

The total land holdings of Captain Abraham Lincoln, therefore, would appear to have been 2,334¼ acres.*

The narrative of the death of the pioneer Lincoln was often rehearsed by his son Thomas in the presence of his own son Abraham, whose account of it is thus preserved for us by his associate:

> The story of his death in the sight of his youngest son Thomas, then only six years old, is by no means a new one to the world. In fact, I have often heard the president describe the tragedy as he had inherited the story from his father. The dead pioneer had three sons, Mordecai, Josiah and Thomas, in the order named. When the father fell, Mordecai, having hastily sent Josiah to the neighboring fort after assistance, ran into the cabin, and pointing his rifle through a crack between the logs, prepared for defense. Presently an Indian came stealing up to the dead father's body. Beside the latter sat the little boy Thomas. Mordecai took deliberate aim at a silver crescent which hung suspended from the Indian's breast, and brought him to the ground. Josiah returned from the fort with the desired relief, and the savages were easily dispersed, leaving behind one dead and one wounded.†

It is of interest to inquire, where did this tragedy occur? Both Washington and Jefferson Counties claim the site of Captain Abraham Lincoln's death. Washington County advances as its proof the fact that the family are found living there very soon after the pioneer's death, and also that his estate was administered in Nelson County, from which Washington was subsequently formed. But the Nelson and Washington County records contain no evidence that Abraham ever owned land or lived in that coun-

*Mr. Warren thinks that Abraham Lincoln died possessed of 5,468 acres, including the Abraham Bird land. His conclusions are usually correct, but I have not found so large a total. In any event, the five thousand pounds of depreciated Virginia currency proved adequate for the purchase of a vast amount of Kentucky land, which was then almost incredibly cheap.

†Herndon's *Lincoln*, 1st ed., i: pp. 9, 10.

ty. On the other hand, it is certain that he owned land on Long Run, with an improvement, which was almost certainly a cabin. There is not known to have been any fort near enough to the land subsequently owned by the Lincolns in Washington County to have met the requirements of the situation.

I have been shown two additional alleged sites of the death of the pioneer Lincoln, one in Hardin County, which may be dismissed without comment, and the other in the heart of the city of Louisville. The latter calls for a moment's attention, because it appears to rest on good authority. It comes direct from Honorable J. L. Nall, of Carthage, Missouri, grandson of Nancy Lincoln and William Brumfield, and was first published over his signature in 1881. The account which he gave was specific and detailed, and claimed to have been derived from what he had heard from his mother through her grandmother, the widow of the pioneer Abraham Lincoln. But Mr. Nall was incorrect in this and in very much besides. Captain Abraham Lincoln was not killed within the corporate limits of Louisville.

Among the papers of Colonel Durrett is a sketch of Hughes' Station made by George Rogers Clark, and bearing this note in pencil in Durrett's handwriting:

Bland W. Ballard states that the station was erected by Morgan Hughes in 1780; that it stood on Long Run in Jefferson County not far from the Baptist meeting-house; that it consisted of eight cabins and four block-houses at the four corners, and that it was a weak fort, poorly built. In 1786 a man was killed here by an Indian while he was coming to the Station from his land near by on Long Run where he had been putting in a crop. His family resided in the station, and soon after his death the widow and children moved into Nelson County.

Colonel Durrett added to this note a penciled query whether this man killed might have been the president's grandfather, but subsequently erased it, thinking that that event could not have occurred at so late a date as 1786, since the death of Lincoln seemed to have been fixed two years earlier.

Major Bland W. Ballard relating his narration before the name of Lincoln had become noted or seemed significant, and thinking it unimportant even to learn the name of the man killed, or to record it if he knew, as he probably did, tells the story of the death of this unnamed man almost exactly as we know from other sources the story of the death of Captain Lincoln. It occurred in the spring, when he was putting in his crop; it was near the fort; his family removed to Nelson County, in which was included the present county of Washington. It is no wonder Colonel Durrett raised the question whether it was not the president's grandfather whose death is thus described. But Colonel Durrett believed that the death of Abraham Lincoln occurred in 1784, and Major Ballard was explicit in his affirmation that this murder occurred in 1786. If we knew that the date 1786 was not impossible, we should have no doubt that this description by Major Ballard, together with the testimony of President Lincoln, fixed the place and also gave the date of the tragedy.

The survey of the Long Run tract of May 7, 1785, showed that Abraham Lincoln was certainly alive a full year later than the Lincoln family tradition affirmed. These facts, and a careful survey of the several alleged sites of the tragedy, had convinced me that the real date of the murder of Abraham Lincoln, the pioneer, was 1786, when Reverend Louis A. Warren discovered a further confirmation in a suit of Mordecai, as heir-at-law of his father, in which Mordecai made oath that his father, Abraham Lincoln, died intestate, in May, 1786. The day of the month is not stated.

One other interesting and highly important document may be cited here completing the proof of the location of the home of the pioneer Abraham Lincoln, and the place of his residence at the time of his death. It is a subscription list, dated September 18, 1786, signed by Bland W. Ballard, Morgan Hughes and the other neighbors in the vicinity of Long Run, to arm and equip an expedition against the Indians, the expedition to be commanded by

George Rogers Clark. Most of the subscriptions are in kind, horses, cows, blankets and provisions. Half-way down the list is a gun, appraised at eight pounds, the gift of "the Widow Lincoln"! This document is in the Library of the University of Chicago, and it adds the last essential argument to the proof already cited. We now know where the Lincolns made their first home on the western side of the mountains, and where the tragedy occurred which President Lincoln was accustomed to say impressed him more than any tale he heard during his boyhood. "The Widow Lincoln" did not remove to Washington County, where she had relatives, until she had harvested the pathetic crop which her husband was sowing when he was killed; she was still living on Long Run in September, 1786.

Further investigations in the Hughes' Station neighborhood have resulted in a practical establishment of the site of the Lincoln home upon this Long Run farm, and also of the spring which supplied the water for the family. Unexpectedly, I have discovered also a considerable body of local tradition, which the records of the Long Run Church tend to confirm, as to the probable situation of the grave of the pioneer, Captain Abraham Lincoln.

That he was buried upon his own farm appears almost certain, and that the land now within the enclosure of the Long Run Baptist Church, located on that farm, was the community burying-ground from the beginning of the settlement, appears equally evident. The church was organized in 1797, but the place was used for worship at a date still earlier. The tradition, which is unusually clear and consistent, is to the effect that several of the oldest graves, five at least, were covered by the brick church edifice, on its enlargement in 1860, and that one of these was the grave of Captain Lincoln. It is rather more than probable that the brick building still in use as a place of regular worship by the Long Run Church covers the mortal remains of Captain Abraham Lincoln.

The discovery that Bathsheba Herring was the wife of Abraham Lincoln the pioneer, June 17, 1780, when they signed a deed

to their Virginia land, and September 8, 1781, when she relinquished her dower-rights, was first published by John T. Harris, Jr., of Harrisonburg, Virginia, in an Open Letter to the *Century Magazine,* for March, 1887, (pp. 810-811). The fact that Abraham's wife was then Bathsheba was accepted by Professor Learned and also by Lea and Hutchinson as affording indubitable evidence that the pioneer Abraham Lincoln was twice married, and they assumed that Bathsheba was his second wife, his first being Mary Shipley. Others, of whom the foremost was Waldo Lincoln, relying upon the Nall tradition that the pioneer left a widow whose name was believed to have been Mary, held that there were indeed two marriages of Abraham Lincoln, one to Mary Shipley and the other to Bathsheba Herring, but that the order was reversed; that Bathsheba, ill ever since the birth of her last child in 1780, died as her husband was about to remove to Kentucky, and that he, needing a mother for his family of small children, quickly married Mary Shipley.

In the summer of 1922, during a search for material for the present work, a large quantity of musty papers discovered in the basement of the old capitol in Frankfort, Kentucky, was ordered destroyed, but was saved through the intervention of Mrs. Cannon, Secretary of the Kentucky State Historical Society. Among other documents was found a tax list of Washington County for 1792, in which appeared the name of Bathsheba Lincoln. She was assessed on the same day and next in order to Mordecai Lincoln, and the land stood in his name, as did one of the horses; but another horse and ten cattle were listed as hers. Hers also was a son above sixteen, and under twenty-one, who must have been Josiah, for Thomas was not then sixteen.

The lists for 1793 have not been discovered, but as this book goes to press, Mrs. Cannon discovers at Frankfort, in the pile of old records, the list of 1794. Therein Bathsheba still is taxed in Washington County for one horse and ten cattle. She is recorded as having two sons above sixteen and under twenty-one, who can be no other than Josiah and Thomas. Thomas, who

first appears on record under his own name as over sixteen in 1795, and appears again in that class in 1796, disappears in 1797 and 1798, when he must have been in Tennessee, and reappears as above twenty-one in 1799. This gives us one more record of Bathsheba, and narrows down by a year at either end the birth-year of Thomas Lincoln. He was above sixteen in 1794 and above twenty-one in 1799; these dates with those that appear elsewhere confirm the year of his birth already arrived at, as 1778. Bathsheba was still living on Beech Fork, Washington County, and apparently with her eldest son Mordecai, until after February 3, 1801, when she signed her authorization for the marriage of her daughter Nancy or Ann to William Brumfield, Mordecai signing the bond with the prospective bridegroom. Not long afterward she removed to Hardin County to live with her daughter Nancy.

I am indebted to the Honorable L. S. Pence for another interesting item. In 1797 a Washington County road is officially described as running from the home of the Widow Lincoln and down the same bank, to the Beech Fork.

These discoveries completely revolutionize all theories hitherto held concerning the alleged two marriages of the pioneer Abraham Lincoln. No vestige of proof has been found that his marriage in 1770 was not to Bathsheba. She was Abraham's wife in 1780 and 1782 and accompanied him to Kentucky. She it was who wept over his murdered body, and buried it at Long Run, and brought up her fatherless children in Washington County. She it was whom the grandchildren remembered as living to a great age, though not as great as her grandchildren believed, and who died in 1836, and is buried in Mill Creek Cemetery in Hardin County, where she had spent her last years in the home of her daughter, Nancy Brumfield.

The children of Abraham and Bathsheba (Herring) Lincoln were:

(1) Mordecai Lincoln, born about 1771. He married Mary, daughter of Luke Mudd. The certificate of their marriage is at

Bardstown, Kentucky. The ceremony was performed by Reverend William de Rohan, a Roman Catholic priest, and a considerable number of their descendants have been and are of that faith. They had three sons, Abraham, James and Mordecai, and three daughters, Elizabeth, Mary Rowena and Martha. Mordecai, the father, served as sheriff of Washington County, and it is said that he was a member of the Legislature, but this is not true. He removed to Hancock County, Illinois, and died in 1830.

(2) Josiah Lincoln, born about 1773. He married, February 28, 1801, "Caty" or Catherine, daughter of Christopher and Barbara Barlow. From Kentucky he moved to Indiana and died in 1836, leaving two sons, Thomas Lincoln, of Milltown, Indiana, and Jacob, who moved to Missouri, and four daughters.

(3) Mary Lincoln, born in 1775 or 1776, who married Ralph Crume of Nelson County, Kentucky.

(4) Thomas Lincoln, born January 6, 1778, and died January 17, 1851. He married Nancy Hanks, June 12, 1806. They became the parents of Sarah, Abraham and Thomas. The last named died in infancy; the first lived to young womanhood, married and died at the birth of her first child. The second child of Thomas and Nancy was Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States.

(5) Nancy Lincoln, born March 25, 1780; married January 12, 1801, William Brumfield of Washington County, Kentucky, died in Hardin County, Kentucky, October 7, 1843, or October 9, 1845.

It was an honest, virtuous family. In it are to be discovered few brilliant men; but the record is an honorable one all the way from Hingham in New England, and quite possibly from Hingham in Old England, down to Nolin Creek where the most illustrious member of the family was born.

CHAPTER IV

THE HANKSES AND SPARROWS

It was affirmed by Herndon and other of Lincoln's associates that the president was always reticent about his mother's family. Herndon held them in little esteem, and said, in an unpublished letter, that the Hanks family must have been about the lowest family on earth. This was an extreme and harsh judgment. The Hanks family was not of the same social standing as the Lincolns, but it was not a vicious family. It had many respectable members, and was, on the whole, virtuous and law-abiding, though generally shiftless.

Mrs. Caroline Hanks Hitchcock, in a little book entitled *Nancy Hanks,* accords this humble family nothing less than apotheosis. She derived the name from the Egyptian "Ankh," which means "living image," or as she prefers it, "soul." If the tomb of Tut-Ankh-Amen had been discovered when she wrote, she must surely have acclaimed his middle name as proof of his distinguished right to a place among her progenitors. She traced the triumphal march of this regal clan along the Roman roads to Stonehenge, in Druid England, and so to Plymouth Rock and then through Virginia into Kentucky.

The truth is that the Hanks family was not nearly so bad as Herndon affirmed, and not nearly so illustrious as Mrs. Hitchcock declared. The Kentucky branch of it was a poor, thriftless, generally illiterate and highly migratory family, such as constituted a large proportion of the population of the backwoods in the latter part of the eighteenth century.

Benjamin Hanks and his wife Abigail sailed from London about 1699, and landed at Plymouth, Massachusetts. Later they settled at Pembroke, and there eleven of their twelve children were born. Benjamin's wife, Abigail, died in 1725, and he

married Mary Ripley, of Bridgewater, and moved to Easton, where his twelfth child, Jacob, was born.

The third child and second son of Benjamin and Abigail Hanks was William, born February 11, 1704. All the other children are later accounted for. They lived in New England and their marriages are of record. William may have died in youth or moved in any direction. Mrs. Hitchcock believed, on what reason does not appear, that he sailed to Virginia and settled near the mouth of the Rappahannock. There, she believed, he became the father of five sons, Abraham, Richard, James, John and Joseph. "All these sons with the exception of John, moved to Amelia County, where they bought large plantations near each other." Of these sons, as she affirmed, the youngest, Joseph, was the father of Nancy Hanks, mother of the president. He was born, as she believed, near the mouth of the Rappahannock, married in Amelia where Nancy was said to have been born, removed to Kentucky and died in Nelson County in 1793. Thus in four generations from Plymouth to the woods of Kentucky, she traced the lineage of Nancy Hanks Lincoln.

With four generations, it is possible to be mistaken in only three transitions, and Mrs. Hitchcock was in error in every one of the three. There was a William Hanks near the mouth of the Rappahannock, though her book did not discover him, and he had a son William; neither of these two Williams was the son of Benjamin Hanks of Plymouth. The alleged Joseph Hanks who sold land in Amelia County in 1747 was not the Joseph who died in Nelson County in 1793. The Joseph Hanks who died in 1793 was not the father of Nancy Hanks, the mother of the president.

This was not the full extent of Mrs. Hitchcock's creative genius. The Hankses in Amelia County, she affirmed, were friends of the Berrys, the Mitchells, the Thompsons and the Lincolns; and each of these families had a marriageable son. In Lunenburg, the second county south, was Robert Shipley, who, as Mrs. Hitchcock for some reason believed, had five marriageable daughters. A son of each of these five families as she de-

clared, rode past the homes of all the girls residing in nearer neighborhoods and each made love to a daughter of Richard Shipley, who distributed his female children among these five notable families. Then, as she affirmed, all these five families, the Lincolns, Hankses, Thompsons, Mitchells and Berrys, moved together into Kentucky where in due time Thomas Lincoln married his first cousin, Nancy Hanks, then resident in the home of her kind Uncle Richard Berry.

Mr. Shipley may have had five daughters, or even ten, five of them wise and five amateur genealogists, but thus far not a scrap of evidence has been adduced to prove that he had even one little ewe lamb of a daughter. The Thompsons and Mitchells were indeed residents of Amelia County, but they have nothing to do with the case. Amelia County is a little south of the middle of Virginia. The Hankses were in the extreme northwest corner of the state; the Berrys, later of Washington County, Kentucky, were in the extreme south portion close to the North Carolina line, and the Lincolns, coming across the pan-handle of Maryland from Pennsylvania, had followed up the Shenandoah and were walled in on both sides by high mountain ranges and separated by long distance from both the Hankses and the Berrys. The United States Census for 1790, including enumerations in 1782 and 1785, contains no name of Lincoln, Berry or Hanks as living in Amelia County. It was vital to Mrs. Hitchcock's story that at least the Hankses should have been resident in that county, but when she got there, the record was bare. Fortune favored her. There were in Amelia County three families of the name of Hawks, a name which, when carelessly written or dimmed by processes of time, resembles that of Hanks. All was fish that came to her net. She was able of these stones to raise up children unto the Hanks family of Massachusetts of which she was a member.

The Hanks family in Virginia has been the despair of genealogists. The family kept no records; generations overlap and names are often repeated. Many of the ordinary sources fail. No record has been discovered of a Hanks holding office in the

militia or in civil life in Colonial Virginia. No Hanks is on record as receiving land for service in the Revolution or the French and Indian War. We still are uncertain of the original immigrant, but this is certain, that he was not a descendant of Benjamin Hanks, of Plymouth; the Hankses were in Virginia before Benjamin arrived in Massachusetts. The original immigrant was not the John Hanks shown in the General Index of the Land Office in Richmond as obtaining a grant in 1767; he was John Hucks. The progenitor of the president's family may have been Thomas Hancks, who came over as an indentured servant of Thomas Fowke, of Westmoreland. He secured a patent for his free hundred acres in Gloucester County, February 16, 1653, and ten years later obtained two grants of five hundred and thirty and five hundred and twenty-seven acres in New Kent County. He may be presumed to have been the same who, as Thomas Hankes, on October 8, 1667, obtained three hundred additional acres. Thus far we have discovered no other Hanks who obtained land at so early a date. If he lived and left a son, that son was probably William, of whom we shall presently hear. We have no record of William's immigration, and if he was born in Virginia we do not know at this date any other Hanks than Thomas, who might have been his father. However, later discoveries may disprove this conjectural relationship.

I am able to give, however, and for the first time, the true story of that branch of the Hanks family from which President Lincoln descended, beginning the documentary history on Saint Valentine's Day in 1679, when William Hanks, who may have been a son of the aforementioned Thomas, became the father of a son, also named William. The wife of the elder William was Sarah, who had been a widow named White. She and William Hanks, Sr., were married about June, 1678. They lived in Rappahannock County, and in that part which in 1692 became Richmond County—not the county in which the city of Richmond is located, but a rural county, north of the Rappahannock and toward the Potomac. In 1695, William Hanks, Sr., bought from William Woodbridge one hundred acres of land called "the In-

dian Town branch," located in the North Farnham Parish, the first certain home of the president's Hanks ancestors in America. There they lived for three generations. William Hanks bought some fourteen additional pieces of land as years went by. He and Sarah had three sons, besides Richard White, son of Sarah by her previous marriage. The eldest son William married, July, 1711, Hester Mills, and had seven children. The second son Luke married about 1718, and his wife Elizabeth bore him three children. Some of their descendants are found later in Western North Carolina, where they form the basis of a stupid story connecting the name of John C. Calhoun with the Lincoln family, and where a monument, based on this foolish myth was erected in 1923 to mark the alleged birthplace of Nancy Hanks, the mother of President Lincoln.*

John Hanks, youngest son of William and Sarah, married, about June, 1714. He and his wife Katherine had nine children. She survived her husband and died apparently in January, 1779. Her second son Joseph was appointed, February first, administrator of her rather good estate.

Joseph Hanks, son of John and Katherine, and great-grandfather of Abraham Lincoln, was born in North Farnham Parish, December 20, 1725. His wife's name was Ann, and he called her Nannie. Her maiden name has not been discovered. Their five sons and four daughters were probably all born in Richmond County, but the only date discovered is the birth of one daughter Betty, March 4, 1771.

The final papers in the estate of Katherine Hanks were filed in 1782. Joseph Hanks probably was there for the final accounting, but some time in 1781, apparently, he collected a portion of the money due him and followed up the valley of the Potomac to Patterson's Creek in the county of Hampshire, which is now in West Virginia. The United States Census of 1790 shows Joseph Hanks resident there in 1782 with a family of eleven, all white. This is precisely the size of his family at that time, and the

*For a complete discussion of this tradition, see my *The Paternity of Abraham Lincoln.*

census enumerations of all the thirteen colonies having been diligently searched, it is found that not only does this family precisely meet the numerical requirements, but there was not, so far as the census shows, any other Hanks family that approximated this result.

The Patterson Creek Valley was reasonably fertile, and the region still was sparsely settled, the neighborhood of this creek showing in 1782 only thirty-two families, much the smallest of the fifteen lists in Hampshire County. Joseph Hanks was not crowded out. On March 9, 1784, Joseph Hanks mortgaged his farm of one hundred eighty acres to Peter Putnam, a resident of Hampshire County, but not a near neighbor, for twenty-one pounds, nine shillings. This was a pitiful sum. The Lincolns sold their farm for five thousand pounds. To be sure, Virginia money was not quite so badly depreciated in 1784 as in 1780; but why did the Hanks family mortgage their home for a paltry amount of ready cash, abandon it without further deed, and leave Virginia? They had lived there less than three years. They left in 1784. That was the year of Nancy's birth.

The family of Joseph Hanks disappears from Hampshire County records with his mortgage in 1784. The very next year we find his family in Nelson County, Kentucky, and there he resided until his death in 1793.

The will of Joseph Hanks has attained to a distinction which that humble but honest citizen could never have imagined. It has become the corner-stone of a considerable body of literature, and must be quoted in full. It is preserved at Bardstown, Kentucky:

In the name of God, Amen, I Joseph Hanks of Nelson County State of Kentucky being of sound Mind and Memory, but weak in body and calling to Mind the frailty of all Human Nature do make and Devise this my last Will and Testament in the Manner and Form following To Wit

Item I Give and bequeath unto my Son Thomas one Sorrel Horse called Major.

Item I Give and bequeath unto my son Joshua one Grey Mare called Bonney.

Item I Give and bequeath unto my son William one Grey Horse called Gilbert.

Item I Give and bequeath unto my Son Charles one Roan Horse called Dove.

Item I Give and bequeath unto my Son Joseph one Sorrel Horse called Bald. Also the Land whereon I now live containing one hundred and fifty Acres.

Item I Give and bequeath unto my Daughter Elizabeth one Heifer Yearling called Gentle.

Item I Give and bequeath unto my Daughter Polly one Heifer Yearling called Lady.

Item I give and bequeath unto my daughter Nancy one Heifer Yearling called Peidy.

Item I Give and bequeath unto my Wife Nanny all and Singular my whole Estate during her life, afterwards to be equally divided between all my Children. It is my Will and Desire that the whole of the Property above bequeathed should be the property of my Wife during her Life. And lastly I constitute ordain and appoint my Wife Nanny and my Son William as Executrix and Executor to this my last Will and Testament.

Signed Sealed and Delivered
In Presence of Us this eighth day January one thousand seven hundred and ninety three.
Isaac Lansdale
John Davis
Peter Atherton

his
Joseph x Hanks
mark (Seal)

At a Court begun and held for Nelson County on Tuesday the fourteenth day of May 1793.

This last Will and Testament of Joseph Hanks dcd was produced in Court and sworn to by William Hanks one of the Excutors therein named and was pro ved by the Oaths of Isaac Lansdale and John Davis subscribing witnesses thereto and Ordered to be Recorded.

Teste
Ben Grayson Co. Ck.

Of the Hanks brothers we need only remind ourselves that Joseph established himself for a time in Elizabethtown and worked as a carpenter with Thomas Lincoln, and that William

became the father of John Hanks, who later split rails with Abraham Lincoln. We have much more concern with the Hanks sisters, and with the family into which two of them married.*

Where was this first Kentucky home of little Nancy Hanks? Not in Washington County, certainly, where the Hankses never lived, but in Nelson, an immense county, which since has been diminished in area by the erection of several other counties. His will was probated in Nelson County; and it was within Nelson County, even within its present restricted borders, though just across from Larue, that Joseph Hanks died and little Nancy shed tears, alas, not the first bitter tears of her childhood, beside his grave.

The Joseph Hanks farm was part of an entry of one thousand acres by Joseph Barnett, October 3, 1783. This passed to John Lee, who, on February 28, 1787, made a contract to sell one hundred fifty acres of it to Joseph Hanks "as soon as deed can be obtained from Joseph Barnett." Apparently the deed was never made. A year after the death of the elder Joseph Hanks, his son and namesake assigned his interests to his brother William, and went back to Virginia. William Hanks traded it to Joseph Nevett. William is the only Hanks who had land on a Virginia patent, his entry being June 12, 1784, for one thousand acres of land on Rough Creek in Grayson County, which he paid for in whole or in part by an exchange of his interest in the land which his father had held by a precarious title on Rolling Fork. Some years afterward, Joseph Hanks having returned from Virginia, and his assignment to William being of doubtful legality, he quit-claimed his title to the farm "for a chunk of an old horse that would of traded for about $15." This is the lordly domain about which

*Miss Tarbell in her recent book, *Following the Footsteps of the Lincolns*, gives in some detail, and in entire good faith, the methods by which Mrs. Hitchcock is supposed to have obtained information of the Hanks family through two of its Illinois branches, the descendants of Joseph in Adams County and the descendants of William in Macon County. I also am acquainted with representatives of these two branches of the Hanks family, and they are very good people. I will venture the opinion that in matters relating to their family history back of the third generation, they obtained more information from Mrs. Hitchcock, such as it was, than they were able to give to her.

Mrs. Hitchcock writes, where the Hankses and their illustrious cousins went merrily hunting and fishing and hawking in right royal fashion.

In the rotunda of the new capitol building at Frankfort stands a fine bronze statue of Abraham Lincoln. One day a Kentucky farmer entered the building and regarded the statue with particular interest. The custodian spoke to him, and the visitor said that Lincoln was a cousin of his; he gave his own name as Sparrow. A reporter for a Frankfort paper, short of material for his column of political and legislative gossip, made note of the incident. I was in Frankfort a few days later, doing research work in the library of the Kentucky Historical Society, and my attention was called to the paragraph by the Secretary of the Society. I had visited Kentucky many times, and had traversed repeatedly the area inhabited by the Lincoln family, and had never encountered a Sparrow. So far as I am aware, no other Lincoln biographer had ever interviewed one of Lincoln's relatives of that name.*

But there was something of deeper interest in the incident. This man knew himself to be related to Lincoln. How did he know it? Through what connection did he trace his own more or less remote cousinship? Was it possible that the Sparrows had any considerable body of consistent tradition, any possible record, bearing on the life-story of Abraham Lincoln? Where were these Sparrows? How had they managed to keep themselves so long in hiding?

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*For invaluable assistance in the making of this chapter, I am indebted to Mrs. Jouett Taylor Cannon, Secretary of the Kentucky State Historical Society; to Honorable William H. Townsend of Lexington, whose birthplace was in Anderson County, and who visited his old neighbors, the Sparrows, on my behalf, and subsequently took me there and introduced me to them; and to the Misses Mary and Martha Stephenson, of Harrodsburg. Miss Mary has dug deep in old records of Mercer County, recovering for me the marriage bonds and other records of the entire first generation of the Sparrows, and her sister, Miss Martha, like Mary, has chosen the good part. Records that had not seen the light for a century have been discovered. By the courtesy of Honorable Ben Casey Allin, County Judge, I have been permitted to reproduce these records in photostat. I was able subsequently to visit the Sparrow family in person, and later to make still another journey to the region of their first settlement in Kentucky.

The answer proved a simple one, the Sparrows had hidden from the biographers by staying where they were. Less migratory than the Lincolns and the Hankses, the Sparrows still cultivate the soil which the pioneers of their name wrested from the wilderness. A virtuous legislature, bent upon making two Democratic counties where formerly there was one, cut off that portion of Washington which adjoined Anderson and contained a heavy Republican population that occasionally enabled the entire county to go Republican. This section had originally belonged to Mercer, and was that in which the Sparrows resided. The Republican of this section was easily absorbed by the heavy Democratic majority of Anderson, where it is never considered worth while to nominate a Republican ticket. The happy result is that both counties are now "safe for Democracy." That part of Anderson County is known as the "cut-off." It is remote from the railroads, and is a picturesque and reasonably fertile section of Kentucky.

If it were determined to gather in one place as many as possible of the blood relations of Abraham Lincoln in the shortest possible time, the place of their most expeditious assembly would be the old New Liberty Church, formerly known as the Sparrow Union. On the Sunday observed as Memorial Day in 1923 and again in 1924, perhaps a thousand people gathered there for the decoration of the graves of the soldiers, a majority of them Confederate, but a number of them Union, buried in the adjacent burial-ground.* Of those one thousand people, some of them inside the old but well-preserved, weatherboarded, log meeting-house, and the rest under the spreading oak trees, perhaps five hundred were related to Abraham Lincoln.

When, in that part of the county, a man named Sparrow is arrested, a matter of infrequent occurrence, for the Sparrows generally are law-abiding, religious people, it is impossible to secure a jury not related to the defendant; a change of venue is

*In the South, Decoration Day is celebrated on Sunday; and other graves than those of soldiers receive this beautiful annual tribute.

therefore taken to some part of the county where the Sparrows have nested less abundantly, and a man of that name can be tried before a jury not composed of his own cousins.

The Sparrow neighborhood is at least sixteen miles from the county-seat, Lawrenceburg, and has its own local column in the county paper, the *Anderson News*. I have seen copies of this interesting periodical, containing a half column or more of local news, births, marriages, and week-end visits, and most of them related to the doings of one family. One such issue contained twenty items, and every one of the twenty named one or more members of the Sparrow family.

These Sparrows are intelligent, honest and capable people, living on their own farms, and living reasonably well. They are much inbred, and show, as far as I have noted, no signs of physical or intellectual deterioration. I have met one strong, erect young man of twenty-one who is descended by four distinct lines from the grandmother of Abraham Lincoln. I have met also a husband and wife, both of them first cousins of Abraham Lincoln.

These people have read few if any books about Lincoln. They know nothing about any controversies concerning his parentage. They have not seen or communicated with the Hankses for a hundred years. They have never been interviewed, except for this work. But as soon as they are asked about their family connections, they tell their direct and consistent story; they all know themselves to be related to Abraham Lincoln, and they know how that relationship exists. If they produce a shoe-box full of family portraits, there is a picture of Lincoln among them. It belongs there; he is of their kin.

The family Bibles of these people go back to where they join to official records in Anderson and Mercer Counties, and the records confirm the traditions.

Here is an invaluable body of testimony, never before discovered.

The Hankses and the Sparrows were intimately related, and Nancy Hanks, the president's mother, was oftener called Sparrow

than Hanks. A knowledge of the Sparrows is necessary to our knowledge of the Hankses and the Lincolns. What is there to be known about them? The records are surprisingly clear, and of considerable importance.

With much labor I have discovered the nest of the Sparrows in Mecklenburg County, Virginia, and, as has often been the case, I have found an embarrassment of riches. For I wanted one James Sparrow, and I found a James Sparrow and a James R. Sparrow and a James B. Sparrow and a James Bowling Sparrow and a James Bowling and a James W. Sparrow. There were two families of these Sparrows, James Wright Sparrow and James Bowling Sparrow, cousins, being the respective fathers. James Wright Sparrow's middle name, Wright or Right, or initial W. or R., as the spelling might be preferred, appears not to have been used except when necessary to distinguish between him and James Bowling Sparrow. The census of 1790 gives us James B. Sparrow with a family of eight and James R. Sparrow with a family of ten, all white. Either family is large enough for our requirements, but the one that chiefly concerns us is James Wright Sparrow. The two families are both missing from Virginia after 1788, and almost immediately we find them both in Mercer County, Kentucky. At first their home was in the extreme southern part of Mercer County as it then was constituted, in what is now Boyle County. Their land was on the waters of Chaplain's Fork, toward Doctor's Fork, and not very far from the battle-field of Perryville.

James Sparrow died in Mercer County, Kentucky, in 1789. His will is of record thus:

The noncupative will of James Sparrow, Decd., was produced in Court, Oct. 27, 1789, in the words and figures following:

In the name of God, Amen, I james Sparrow of Mercer County, Caintucky, and province of Virginia, being of perfect mind and memory, do make this my last Will Testament and dispose of what little afects God has blessed me with in Mercer following, that is to say lawful Debts to be paid faithfully discharged out

of my personal estate to my well beloved wife. I leave the rest of my personal estate to rease the childering and support herself and my land is to be divided first One hundred for my eldest son hendry, then the other three hundred to be divided equally to the other fore sons, Thomas, James, Peter and Dinny Sparrow. This is my last will and Testament here given under my hand this 18th day of May 1789.

And the same was proved by the oaths of Josiah Campbell, Henry Sparrow, and Judith Sparrow and Susannah Campbell to be the noncupative will of the said James Sparrow Deceased and ordered to be recorded.

This James Sparrow who died in 1789 in Mercer County was James W. or James R. Sparrow, formerly of Mecklenburg County, Virginia, where the parents of Henry Sparrow were living when the latter was born in 1765, and where Henry was living when he enlisted in the Revolutionary War in the spring of 1781. Henry was twenty-four years of age when his father died, and, as the will affirms, he was the eldest son. On his father's death, Henry became the head of the family, and when Biddy, or Bridget, was married to John Daniel, by the Reverend John Bailey, March 5, 1790 (bond March 2, 1790) Henry signed as "Guardian." His mother's name was Mary, and she lived for some years after the death of her husband. The son, James, died, and it must have been his wife, "Nancy Sparrow, widow," who in 1800 married John Elliott. We are chiefly concerned with Henry and Thomas.

In 1872, Ward Hill Lamon, in his *Life of Lincoln,* gave the first real information concerning the antecedents of Nancy Hanks. He gave it bluntly, and unsympathetically, but he did it truthfully:

Nancy Hanks was the daughter of Lucy Hanks. Her mother was one of four sisters—Lucy, Betsy, Polly and Nancy. Betsy married Thomas Sparrow; Polly married Jesse Friend, and Nancy, Levi Hall. Lucy became the wife of Henry Sparrow, and the mother of eight children. Nancy the younger was early sent to live with her uncle and aunt, Thomas and Betsy Sparrow.

Nancy, another of the four sisters, was the mother of that Dennis F. Hanks whose name will be frequently met with in the course of this history. He also was brought up, or permitted to come up, in the family of Thomas Sparrow, where Nancy found a shelter.*

Lamon was not loved for this statement, but no one was prepared to deny it. When it was known that John G. Nicolay and John Hay, former secretaries of Abraham Lincoln, were engaged upon a *Life of Lincoln,* not a few readers waited with keen interest for their version of this story. The work which they produced ran for several years through the pages of the *Century* magazine, and was then published in ten thick volumes. It is a work which will be of permanent value to the Lincoln student. But it suffers marked limitations, one of which is the fact that it was written under the blue-pencil of Robert Todd Lincoln. He furnished his father's two secretaries with his father's official and private papers on condition that he should see and approve whatever they were to print. After some years of hard labor, the first part of the work was sent to Mr. Lincoln with this letter from John Hay, which is eloquent as to the feeling under which the two secretaries had done their work:

Cleveland, Ohio, January 27, 1885.

Dear Bob:—

Nicolay tells me he has laid before you or is about to do so, the first volumes of our history, containing the chapters in which I have described the first forty years of your father's life. I need not tell you that every line has been written in a spirit of reverence and regard. Still you may find here and there words and sentences which do not suit you. I write now to request that you will read with a pencil in your hand, and strike out everything to which you object. I will adopt your view in all cases, whether I agree with it or not.†

That Robert T. Lincoln made corrections, the later letters show, but even if he never made any, the work was produced

*Lamon: *Life of Lincoln,* p. 12.

†*Life and Letters of John Hay,* by William Roscoe Thayer, ii, pp. 24-25.

under the possibility of his doing so, and the authors had this fact constantly in mind.

What did Nicolay and Hay say on this delicate subject, knowing that for every idle word they would have to give account to Robert T. Lincoln?

They repeated the Lamon statement, but with less of detail. They named Nancy Hanks' mother, Lucy, and in the same sentence named her sisters and her sisters' husbands, grouping the sisters first and the husbands in a following clause. The paragraph so ended that the casual reader might hardly be expected to sort out and pair off the sisters and their husbands, or to notice that nothing was said of Lucy's husband, while, on the other hand, no critic could charge the authors with evading, or misrepresenting the unpleasant fact. Seldom in all his career did John Hay better illustrate his diplomatic skill, while preserving his complete regard for the truth:

> Mrs. Lincoln's mother was named Lucy Hanks; her sisters were Betty, Polly and Nancy, who married Thomas Sparrow, Jesse Friend and Levi Hall. The childhood of Nancy was passed with the Sparrows, and she was oftener called by their name than her own. The whole family connection was composed of people so little given to letters that it is hard to determine the proper names and relationships of the younger members amid the tangle of traditional cousinships.*

We may assure ourselves that no paragraph in the entire ten volumes cost John Hay more thought than this one, or was reviewed with more care by John G. Nicolay. Nor can there have been any paragraph over which the newly sharpened pencil of Robert T. Lincoln was longer or more thoughtfully poised.

But it was approved by him in January, 1885, and it was published in the *Century* in November, 1886; and when the ten volumes appeared, it was not changed. It is certainly to the credit of John Hay, as it is also to that of Robert T. Lincoln,

**Abraham Lincoln: A History*, i, p. 24.

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that no attempt was made to disguise this unpleasant truth. They were disposed not to make it prominent, but they were both too honorable to deny or omit it.

No one can imagine that Robert T. Lincoln enjoyed that paragraph, but it was true, and he knew it, and it was stated as delicately, perhaps as vaguely, as so bald a fact could be stated.

And that is where it ought to have been left. I did not covet the task which has been thrust upon me by those who, some of them having a zeal without knowledge and concerning others of whom something not so gentle would need to be said, have undertaken to establish a wholly different story.

That story is based upon the fact that Joseph Hanks, in his will, names three of these sisters but does not mention a daughter Lucy; and even Waldo Lincoln, in his new *History of the Lincoln Family* affirms that her existence has not been proved.* It is necessary now to prove it.

The simple question involved, is, was Nancy Hanks, the president's mother, the daughter or the granddaughter of Joseph Hanks? President Lincoln answered this question in his campaign biography furnished to John Locke Scripps in 1860. Writing of his flat-boat journey to New Orleans in 1831, with John Hanks, he said:

> He is the same John Hanks who now engineers the "rail enterprise," at Decatur, and is a first cousin of Abraham's mother.

John Hanks was born February 9, 1802, and died July 12, 1890, being the son of William and Elizabeth (Hall) Hanks and the grandson of Joseph and Ann Hanks.† If the president's mother had been a daughter of Joseph Hanks, she would have been John Hanks's aunt, and not his first cousin.

Again brief reference must be made to a little book entitled *Nancy Hanks,* by Mrs. Caroline Hanks Hitchcock. That book

**History of the Lincoln Family,* p. 340.

†Elizabeth Hall, who married William Hanks, was a sister of Levi Hall who married Nancy Hanks. Their father was James Hall, and when he died their mother married Caleb Hazel, Lincoln's teacher.

announced that its author had prepared a complete genealogy of the Hanks family, which was soon to appear. That was twenty-five years ago. The genealogy has not appeared, and Mrs. Hitchcock did not possess in 1899, and does not possess, material for a complete and trustworthy work of that character. Miss Ida M. Tarbell furnished the Introduction to Mrs. Hitchcock's book, and proclaimed that Mrs. Hitchcock had forever removed the stain which wicked men had cast upon the lineage of Lincoln's mother.

Ten years went by, and James Henry Lea had ready for publication the results of J. R. Hutchinson's investigations into Lincoln's English lineage, and his own inquiries into the American line. But of the Hankses he knew little, if anything, except what he learned from Mrs. Hitchcock. Some of her conclusions staggered him, but he had no other source of information, so he accepted all he could, then shut his eyes and accepted some more. The results of his attempt to combine truth and Mrs. Hitchcock's story are painfully evident, as he is now and then driven to bigamy.

Laying to one side Mrs. Hitchcock's little book, let us find our material in the more formal work of Lea and Hutchinson:

Robert Shipley, an Englishman, is said on the authority of Mrs. C. H. Hitchcock, to have come to America about the middle of the eighteenth century and to have settled in Lunenburg County, Virginia. He was probably the father of two sons, Robert Shipley, Jr., and Edward Shipley. There were also five daughters, who do not appear in the Virginia records. . . .

Mary Shipley married Abraham Lincoln, of Rockingham County, Virginia, before 1763, and died in Virginia before 1779. . . .

Lucy Shipley married Richard Berry, of Rockingham County, Virginia, who removed to Kentucky about 1789, and lived at Beechland, near Springfield, Washington County. They were the foster parents of the orphaned Nancy Hanks, whose legal guardian Richard Berry became, and from whose home she was married to Thomas Lincoln, he becoming the surety on the marriage bond. It is this Aunt Lucy—Berry, not Hanks—who

was mistaken by the first hasty historians as the mother, Lucy Hanks, and so helped to give credence to the foul fable of false birth so industriously fomented by the enemies of the president. . . .

Sarah Shipley married Robert Mitchell, who removed to Kentucky in 1789. . . .

Elizabeth Shipley married Thomas Sparrow. They removed with the rest of the family to Kentucky and settled in Washington County. In 1817 they rejoined Thomas and Nancy (Hanks) Lincoln at Gentryville, Indiana, where both parents succumbed to a fatal malarial epidemic in October, 1818, having had a daughter Nancy Sparrow (confused with Nancy Hanks by some of the earlier biographers) who married Charles Friend, brother of Jesse Friend, who married Polly Hanks, daughter of Joseph. Charles and Nancy (Sparrow) Friend were the parents of the irresponsible and unreliable Dennis Friend, one of the President's youthful associates, who, assuming the name of Dennis Hanks, did much to complicate the already difficult problem of the Hanks genealogy, which the mendacity of his declining years still further confused.*

There is at least one true statement in the foregoing, which is that the five daughters of Robert Shipley do not appear in the Virginia records. There is also another true statement, which is that Polly Hanks married Jesse Friend. She is the only one of the four Hanks sisters who has been permitted to live with her own lawful wedded husband in the biography of the last twenty-five years. Polly, or Mary, Hanks and Jesse Friend were married in Hardin County, December 10, 1795, by Reverend Josiah Dodge, and no one disputes that date.

We have no concern with the Mitchell family, who think they trace a Shipley ancestry through a middle letter "S" in one of their family names, and who may or may not be correct in their conjecture that their ancestor Robert Mitchell married a woman named Shipley.

All the rest of the foregoing genealogy so far as it relates to Lincoln, is false, and the original inventors of it must have

**The Ancestry of Abraham Lincoln,* pp. 105-108, *passim.*

known that it was false. Mary Shipley, if there was any such woman, did not marry Abraham Lincoln. Lucy Shipley did not marry the Richard Berry of this genealogy; his wife was Rachel. That same Richard Berry did not sign Thomas Lincoln's marriage bond; he had been dead eight years. It was his son who signed the bond, and his wife was not Lucy Shipley but Polly Ewing. Elizabeth Shipley did not marry Thomas Sparrow, and Thomas Sparrow and his wife did not have any children, and the mother of Dennis Hanks was not Nancy Sparrow Friend. But just here we find one other true statement: Dennis Hanks was the son, albeit the illegitimate son, of Charles Friend; and he concealed the name of his father from even the close cross-questioning of William H. Herndon, who thus wrote concerning him:

Dennis Hanks, still living (1889) at the age of ninety years in Illinois, was the son of another Nancy Hanks—the aunt of the president's mother. I have his written statement that he came into the world through nature's back door. He never stated, if he knew it, who his father was.*

The people who invented this Shipley genealogy for the glorification of the Hanks family found out who Dennis Hanks's father was, and learned the truth. I have a signed and sworn statement from Charles Friend, grandson of the original Charles Friend, attesting this relationship, and I have similar documents from grandsons of Dennis Hanks, and a further affidavit, made in 1892 by the Hall family when they sold the Lincoln cabin at Farmington for exhibit at the World's Fair, which shows their relationship to the family; for this Nancy Hanks, the daughter of Joseph, after the birth of Dennis, married Levi Hall. We have this relationship trebly attested by the Hankses, the Friends and the Halls. And now the question arises, how did the originators of this piece of fiction learn who was the father of Dennis Hanks and not learn who was his mother? The answer is that they did learn, and that they deliberately invented another moth-

*Herndon's *Lincoln*, i, 13.

er, and another grandmother, and a false marriage to conceal the truth.

Both Lea and Hutchinson and Miss Tarbell are guiltless of intentional wrong in this matter, though they erred sadly in broadcasting misinformation which they had not investigated; and I do not think Mrs. Hitchcock invented it. I do not know who was the original and responsible prevaricator, though I might possibly entertain a conjecture concerning persons no longer living; but this I know, and the knowledge has cost me much labor, that this fabric of falsehoods could not have originated innocently.

There is not room in this chapter for the laborious and complicated investigation which I have been compelled to make. This is the sum of it:

Joseph Hanks had four daughters, one more than was mentioned in his will.

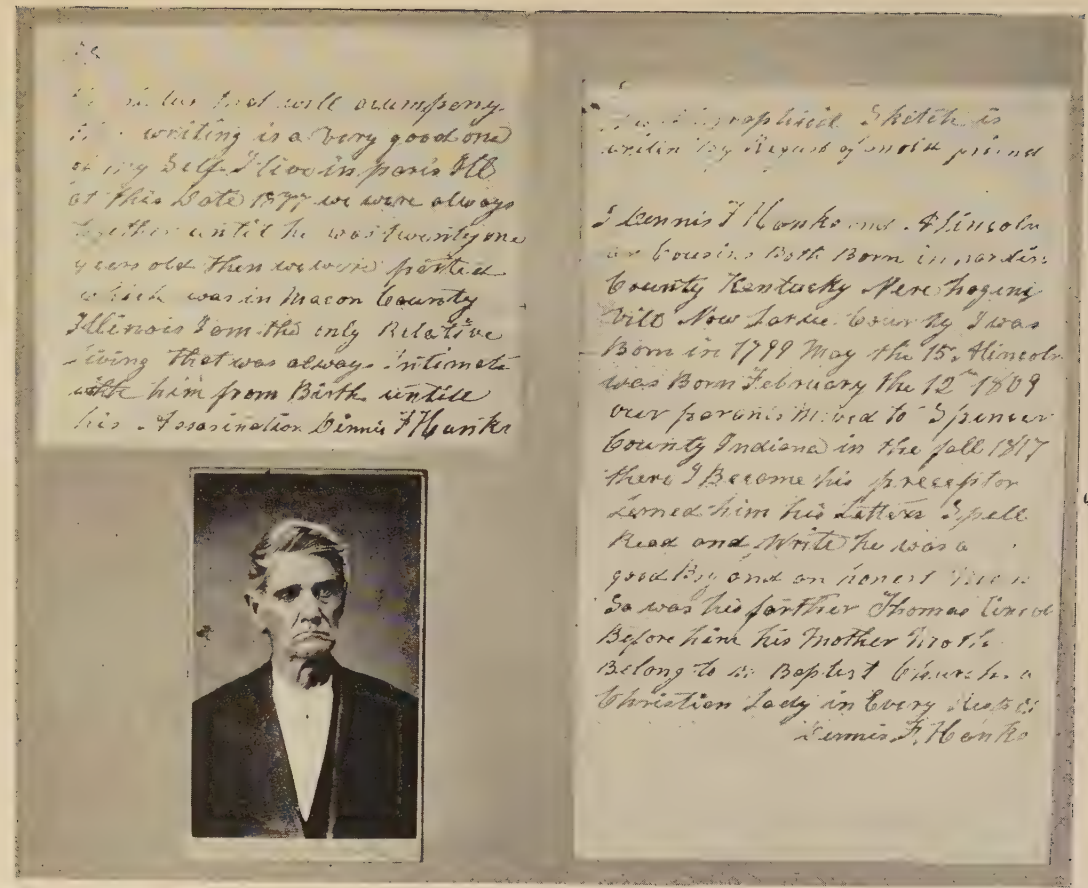
The Nancy who was therein named was not the president's mother, but her aunt, who on May 15, 1799, gave birth to Dennis Hanks, the father being Charles Friend.*

She subsequently married Levi Hall and became the mother of a family still resident partly in Illinois and partly in Missouri. Levi and Nancy Hall migrated to Indiana just in time to be carried off by the same epidemic that took away Nancy Hanks Lincoln and her other aunt and uncle, Thomas and Elizabeth Hanks Sparrow.†

It was regarded as highly important for the purposes of the inventors of this genealogy to discredit Dennis Hanks, and rid

*Charles Friend was responsible for the sorrow also of a Nancy Riley, who on February 8, 1803, caused his arrest for the paternity of her bastard son, born November 7, 1802. He later married (November 19, 1804) Sallie Huss, daughter of Edward Huss, and joined the Little Mount Baptist Church, and there is buried.

†There are five graves in the enclosure with the Nancy Hanks monument in the State Park near Lincoln City. They were identified on the testimony of Dennis Hanks. He was not taken to the spot, but described it with quite remarkable accuracy, saying that his mother and her husband, Nancy and Levi Hall, his foster-parents, Thomas and Elizabeth Sparrow, and his cousin, Nancy Hanks Lincoln, were buried in a group of five graves apart from the others in the little cemetery.



DENNIS F. HANKS
Portrait and autobiographical sketch
Photographed for this work

the noble Hanks family of so troublesome a member. Even Waldo Lincoln in his recent book tells us that "Dennis Hanks appears to have gone out of his way to calumniate both Nancy and her husband."* I find no evidence of this. Dennis could lie a little when necessary, but as a liar he was not in the same class with the people who gave to Mrs. Hitchcock her ready-to-wear genealogy.

These gifted inventors could not stop with the results above cited. They must at all hazards get rid of the Nancy Hanks who was named in Joseph Hanks's will in order to short-circuit one generation and move the president's mother into that place as the heiress of the pied heifer. Their first step was to create a new mother for Dennis Hanks; their next was to provide a new wife for Levi Hall:

> Elizabeth Hanks (Betsy) married Levi Hall, brother of Elizabeth Hall, wife of William Hanks, removed to Spencer County, Indiana, soon after her brothers and sister, Nancy Lincoln, and died shortly and buried beside them. They had three children: 1. Squire Hall, married Matilda Johnson, daughter of Daniel and Sarah (Bush) Johnston, and had nine children; 2. William Hall, married Mary Ann Hanks, daughter of Joseph and Mary (Young) Hanks; 3. James Hall, married Caroline Hanks, sister of the last named.†

It is difficult to carry through so elaborate a scheme of invention and not collide with a fact; and it is not strange that six pages later this record is contradicted, and Elizabeth appears wedded to her own proper husband, a clear case of literary bigamy. The Hitchcock story breaks down of its own weight. We will dwell no longer on Nancy, the wife of Levi Hall, but pass on to discover the true husband of Elizabeth.

Deep down in the dust of old records in Mercer County we have the proof we seek. The marriage bond of Thomas Sparrow

**History of the Lincoln Family*, p. 338.
†*The Ancestry of Abraham Lincoln*, p. 122.

and Elizabeth Hanks bears date of October 17, 1796. And that disposes of several falsehoods.

And now we come to the crux of the whole matter, the existence and character and life history of Lucy Hanks. There was such a woman, the eldest daughter of Joseph Hanks, the mother of Nancy Hanks, the mother of President Lincoln. The reason she is not named in her father's will is that he disinherited her. But was the moral standard of the Hanks family so high that Joseph Hanks, an old man on the verge of eternity, should have refused to forgive his eldest daughter for an offense committed many years before? For Lucy Hanks gave birth to her daughter Nancy in 1784, and Nancy was nine years old when her grandfather died in 1793.

No; the standard of the Hanks family was not so high as that; and no family should have a standard of that character. But the birth of Nancy was not the last time that Lucy caused her parents anxiety; and though she had been married two years, and was behaving like a perfect lady in 1793 when her father died, and though her brothers and sisters had become reconciled to her and continued on terms of friendship becoming their relation, Joseph Hanks did not forget the sorrows of those seven years between the birth of Nancy and the marriage of Lucy. Only three daughters are named in the will of Joseph Hanks. Joseph Hanks did not forget her. To each of his other daughters he gave a heifer; but he did not mention Lucy.

Lucy Hanks was born in Virginia about 1765, and came to young womanhood in the period of license and revolt that accompanied the close of the Revolutionary War. When she was about nineteen, she became the mother of a child, named Nancy. The name of the child's father is unknown, but President Lincoln believed him to have been a planter of standing and unusual ability.*

Lucy must have continued to reside in the home of her parents

*The story is told in the much discussed buggy-ride narrative in Herndon, i:3.

after the birth of her little girl, and until some time after the removal to Kentucky. But long before the death of her father and mother she had left home. Whether her parents turned her out or she left against their will we do not know. But we do know that she continued her wayward life.

The early Kentuckians were highly litigious, but most of their litigation was in civil suits or was concerned with minor cases of assault and battery or slander. The Grand Jury that met at the quarterly courts, in which the county magistrates sat *en banc*, were often hard put to it to earn their *per diem* and mileage, and usually finished their work in a fraction of a day. There was one matter which could always be relied upon to furnish them occupation: the indictment of the road-surveyors. Every grand juror knew that the supervisor of the road over which he had ridden to the court-house deserved anything short of hanging. Having been familiar with those roads for the past forty years. I vote to sustain the indictments against the road-surveyors. At one session of the Grand Jury there would have been nothing else than the roads to occupy its attention save for the misbehavior of Lucy Hanks; and I am reluctant to tell about it. But it is necessary that this story be so told that it shall not have to be told again.

The record reads:

Mercer Court of Quarter Sessions, November 24, 1789. Lewis Homes, Joseph Davis, John Berry, David Prewett, James Harrod, John Haggin, John Mahan, Geo. Bohannan, John Robinson, Henry French and Parmeneas Briscoe were sworn a Grand Jury of inquest for this county, and having received their charge, retired out of court to consult what presentments they could make.

The Grand Jury returned into court, and made the following presentments, viz:

The surveyor of the road from Harrodsburg to George Buckhannon's.

Lucy Hanks for fornication.

The overseer of the road from the county line to Chaplin's Fork.

And having nothing further to present were discharged.

Ordered that the Clerk issue summonses against these persons this day presented by the Grand Jury.*

There is no record that the sheriff served the summons upon Lucy. On March twenty-third, she not having appeared in court, an alias summons was ordered to be issued.

Still she did not appear. Neither Lucy nor the county officials could ignore the matter much longer. By the May term of court, Lucy must have appeared and been publicly branded with an unpleasant name.

And then—

We have reached an exciting moment in this drama, and we have no orchestra to strike the cymbals or blow the bugles. But there enters quietly upon the stage at this juncture a new and important character, almost a hero.

Henry Sparrow was born in Mecklenberg County, Virginia, October 9, 1765, and was half-way between twenty-three and twenty-four when Lucy Hanks came into unpleasant publicity. He had been a soldier in the Revolutionary War, serving in Captain Thomas Shipp's company of Colonel William Mumford's regiment. He had come with his parents, James W. and Mary Sparrow, from Virginia to Kentucky, and since the death of his father, May 18, 1789, just a year earlier than the indictment of Lucy Hanks, had been caring for his widowed mother, his sister and younger brother.

He believed in Lucy, and offered to marry her.

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*Order Book No. 1, p. 415. I have already referred to the affirmation of my friend, Mr. Waldo Lincoln, that no proof has yet been adduced that such a person as Lucy Hanks existed. Miss Tarbell, in her delightful book, *Following the Footsteps of the Lincolns,* issues this friendly challenge: "If now Doctor Barton can establish beyond dispute the place of Nancy Hanks in her family, he will have relieved future Lincoln biographers of much bewilderment and disgust—but his chain must be faultless." (p. 88). It is partly because of the natural reluctance of these and other friends to give up the Hitchcock story, and because I am warned that nothing short of positive proof will be accepted, that I am compelled to adduce this evidence, which under some circumstances it might not be necessary to print.

On April 26, 1790, Henry Sparrow and his brother-in-law, John Daniel, husband of Biddy Sparrow, rode to the court-house and gave bond for a license of marriage between Henry Sparrow and Lucy Hanks.

No one appeared as Lucy's "guardian" nor was that formality required. John Daniel certified that she was of legal age.

But Lucy herself furnished a certificate.

It is her sole literary monument, on a bit of paper about four by five inches:

> I do sertify that I am of age, and give my approbation freely for Henry Sparrow to git out Lisons this or enny other day.
> Given under my hand,
> Apriel 26th, 1790.
> Lucy Hanks
> Test:
> Robert Mitchell
> John Berry.

Do not judge her spelling uncharitably. She stumbled over the word "approbation," beginning to spell the last syllable with an *s* but changing it properly to a *t*. The wonder is not that she spelled so badly but that she could do so well. Her father and her brothers could not write, and neither could her husband or any of her husband's brothers; but she wrote with a flourish.

And so the license was duly issued for the marriage of Henry Sparrow and Lucy Hanks.

When, therefore, the County Court of Quarter Sessions assembled for its May term, the following entry was made:

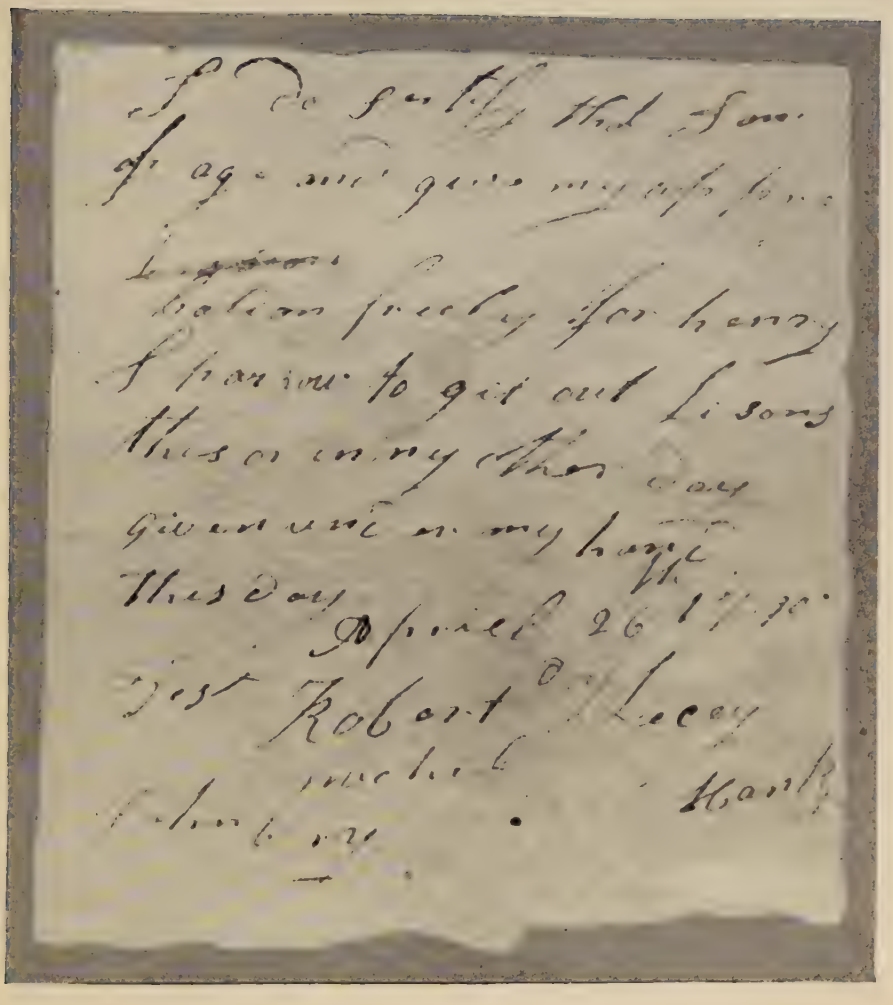
> The Commonwealth plaintiff, against Lucy Hanks, deft.
> Upon a presentment.
> For reason appearing to the court the suit is ordered to be discontinued.

I should like to know, for I do not know, why John Berry was witness to Lucy's consent to the marriage, and why his brother, Richard, sixteen years later, was surety when Lucy's daughter Nancy married Thomas Lincoln. John Berry, who lived and died on Doctor's Fork, in Mercer County, was on the Grand Jury that indicted Lucy, and was evidently concerned that she should not be prosecuted. I do not know why this family was interested in the matter; I know only what the records show.

Now follows an interesting little bit of unwritten history, and he who knows what should be written may write it. Henry and Lucy were not married for nearly a year.

I can imagine Henry's saying to Lucy that, while he had faith in her, it would be well under all the circumstances if she should prove to the community that she could live a single and virtuous life. I can imagine that Lucy herself preferred the postponement, saying that she deeply appreciated the knightly offer of Henry Sparrow, and his act that resulted in the quashing of the indictment against her, but that she wanted to prove to the world that she was worthy of his confidence and to marry as a woman of established and virtuous reputation. I leave it to others to write in this missing page of history. All that I venture to record is that the license was issued April 26, 1790; that the case against Lucy was dismissed on the opening day of the May term of court in the same year, and that, on April 3, 1791, after almost a year of probation in which we have good reason to believe that Lucy remained true, Henry Sparrow and Lucy Hanks were duly married by the Reverend John Bailey, a well-known Baptist preacher.

This is not as pretty a story as that told by Mrs. Hitchcock and the rest; but now we come to the part that is finely well worth telling. Henry Sparrow, who sheltered Lucy behind the protection of his honest name, lived to be assured of the wisdom of his course. Lucy Hanks was a young woman of superior intelligence and unusual strength of character, and she made him a good wife. They became the parents of eight children, James,



ABRAHAM LINCOLN'S LOST GRANDMOTHER
Her one existing autograph. Discovered by the author

Thomas, Henry, George, Elizabeth, Lucy, Peggy and Polly. All these lived to maturity and married and bore children, and their seed are mighty in the earth. They all know that their great- or great-great- or great-great-great-grandfather married Lucy Hanks and that she had a daughter Nancy Hanks, but they have never heard that there was a scandal about it; they suppose that Lucy had been married before. In the days of the Civil War, some of their descendants entered the southern army, but some of them, and among them Henry's son Henry, voted and talked and prayed for the Union and for Henry's nephew, Abraham Lincoln; and Henry was in a position to influence his neighborhood, for he was minister of the Sparrow Union Church.

And this is the happy and rather fine ending of a somber story. Elizabeth Sparrow made a true mother to Nancy, and when there were visits back and forth, as there were, Elizabeth stood in the relation of mother to Nancy, while Lucy was known as her aunt. Lucy soon had her arms full of other children, and she made them a good mother. She brought up her children in honesty and simple virtue. They are industrious, law-abiding, God-fearing people unto this day.

Henry and Lucy lived together as husband and wife about thirty-four years. She died apparently in 1825, aged about sixty. He again married, on bond issued July 31, 1827, Rhoda, sister of Jacob Johnston, and appears to have survived her. In his later years he drew a pension as a Revolutionary soldier, and his last voucher was signed by mark, September 17, 1840.

And Lucy lived so worthily and well that every trace of scandal against her disappeared, and her children rose and her children's children's children still rise, and call her blessed. All her children grew up worthily, and two of them, Henry and James, became ministers of the Gospel.

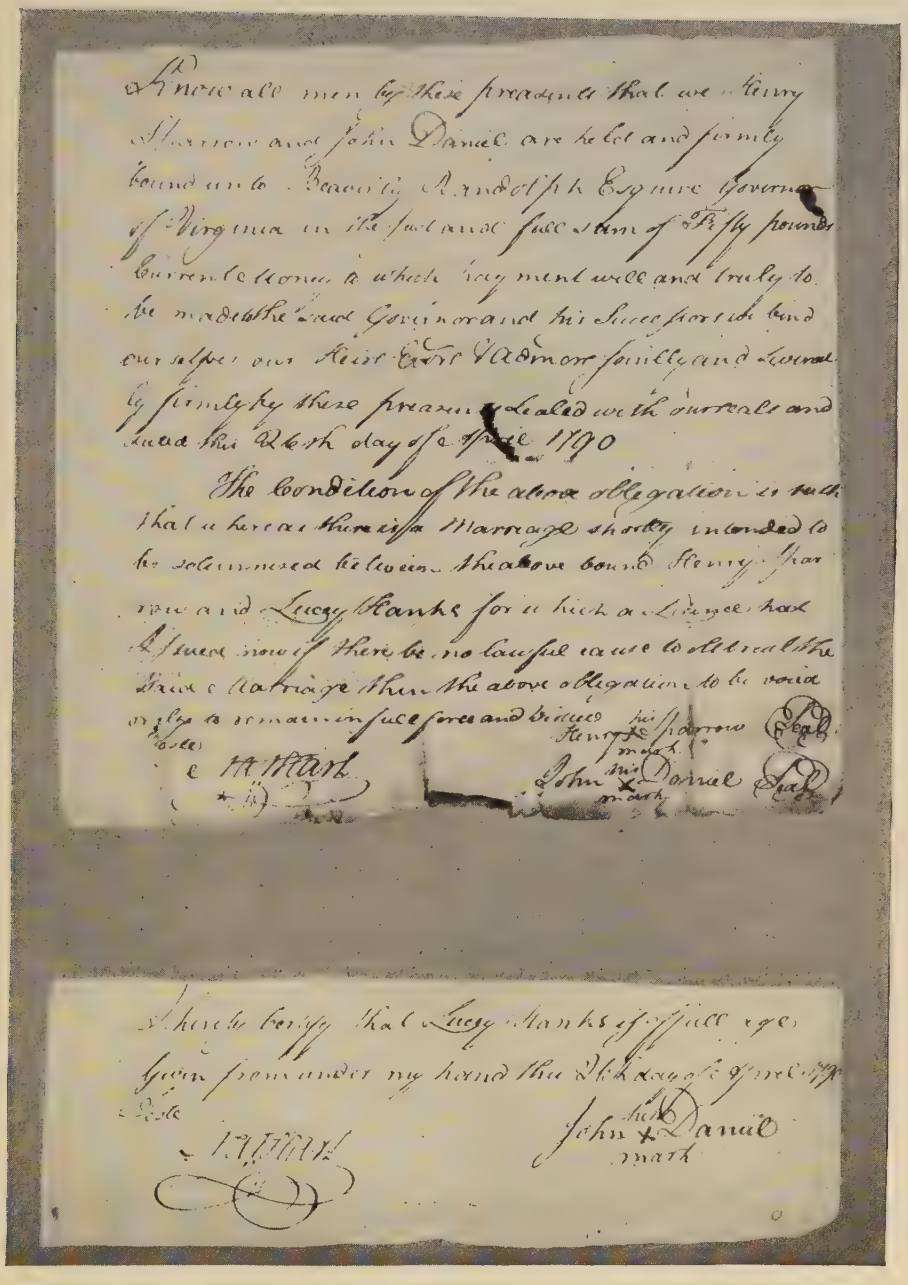
Let him who has done more for posterity than Lucy Hanks, cast the first stone.

Now we are able to tell the true story of the life of Nancy

Hanks. She was born in 1784 on Mike's Run, a small tributary (the mortgage calls it a "drean" or drain) of Patterson's Creek, in what is now Mineral County, West Virginia. Her family removed in the very year of her birth and settled in Nelson County on Rolling Fork of Salt River, about two miles upstream from the present village of Athertonville, and on the opposite side from where in after years she lived, the wife of Thomas Lincoln, on Knob Creek. There is every reason to suppose that in the early part of the family's residence in Kentucky, she and her mother lived with their grandparents, Joseph and Ann Hanks, until the death of her grandfather in 1793. When, in the following year, Joseph Hanks, Jr., to whom the farm had been left in his father's will, subject to a life use by Ann, the widow of Joseph, conveyed his interest to his brother William, two names were signed (with mark, of course) to the deed. Both signatures bear the name Hanks, but the first part of the name below that of Joseph is illegible. It can hardly be doubted that it is the name of Ann Hanks, the mother. Apparently she did not die on Rolling Fork, but, grief-stricken and perhaps with deeper sorrow, went back to Virginia and died among her old neighbors, some of whom may have been relatives. In that year as we know, Joseph went back to Virginia, and after a few years returned to Kentucky. By that time his mother probably was dead.

As Nancy's Uncle William and Aunt Elizabeth (Hall) Hanks came into immediate possession of the farm, it is probable that for a time Nancy lived with this aunt and uncle; and then it appears almost certain that she went for a few months to her own mother, Lucy, who had married Henry Sparrow. But this was not an ideal arrangement, and when Thomas Sparrow married Elizabeth Hanks in 1796, she went to live with them.

Nancy was not less than twelve years of age when she went to live with this uncle and aunt. As the years passed, and no children were born to them, they clung to her with a closer affection. Her own name of Hanks, which had begun to fall away from



Know all men by these presents that we Henry Sparrow and John Daniel are held and firmly bound unto Edmund Randolph Esquire Governor of Virginia in the full and just sum of fifty pounds Current money to which payment well and truly to be made the said Governor and his Successors we bind ourselves our Heirs Exrs & Admors jointly and severally by these presents sealed with our seals and dated this 26th day of April 1790

The Condition of the above obligation is such that whereas there is a Marriage shortly intended to be solemnized between the above bound Henry Sparrow and Lucy Hanks for which a Licence has issued now if there be no lawful cause to obstruct the said Marriage then the above obligation to be void or else to remain in full force and virtue

Henry his Sparrow mark (Seal)

John his Daniel mark (Seal)

Test

I Hereby certify that Lucy Hanks is of full age

Given from under my hand this 26th day of April 1790

Test

John his Daniel mark

MARRIAGE BOND OF HENRY SPARROW AND LUCY HANKS
Discovered at Harrodsburg, Kentucky, by the Misses Mary A. and Martha Stephenson

her while she lived in the home of her mother Lucy Sparrow, dropped farther out of sight. As Nicolay and Hay tell us, she was oftener called Sparrow than Hanks. In after years, when she had come to fame as the mother of Abraham Lincoln, her Hanks cousins united in declaring that Henry Sparrow was her father, and that her name was not Hanks. Dennis has been held up to scorn as a man devoid of honor, and even Waldo Lincoln accuses him of going out of his way to calumniate the mother of the president. On the very contrary, Dennis Hanks, sorrowfully admitting that he was "base-born," lied like a gentleman to protect his cousin from like reproach.

Nancy was in the home of Thomas and Elizabeth Sparrow when they learned of the misfortune that had befallen Elizabeth's youngest sister, Nancy. The tax lists show that Thomas Sparrow was living in Mercer County in 1797, 1798 and 1799. In 1801 Thomas and Elizabeth, with Nancy, moved to Nolin Creek, and then, if not earlier, took the little waif, Dennis, as their son. In 1803 they moved back to Mercer and remained till 1805.* In May, 1806, Thomas Sparrow bought land on the South Fork of Nolin, apparently the same farm he had previously rented in Hardin County. His name appears on the Hardin County tax lists regularly from 1806 until 1818 when he and Elizabeth, and Dennis Hanks their foster son, removed to Indiana to be near their foster daughter, Nancy Hanks Lincoln; and there in a very few months Thomas and Elizabeth died.

Although neither Thomas nor Elizabeth could read, they sent Dennis to school in the old Baptist meeting-house on Nolin, and he became, according to the standards of the Hanks family and

*My clue to a residence of Nancy Hanks in Mercer County came through an autobiographical letter of Dennis Hanks, which is quoted in the appendix to this volume, stating that Thomas and Elizabeth Sparrow, who reared him as a foster son and Nancy Hanks as a daughter, removed from Nolin Creek in Hardin County and spent three years in Mercer, returning afterward to the same farm in Hardin County. Most biographers openly flout Dennis Hanks, but in so doing leap out of the frying-pan to more inaccurate authorities, but I have found him usually truthful. Following this clue, I found the information correct, and it led to important discoveries in Mercer County, which has not hitherto been explored for Lincoln material.

the neighborhood, a well educated man. He was by far the most literate of the Hankses of his generation. His spelling was erratic, as was the spelling of nearly every one else, and his grammar displayed strong individuality, but he expressed himself in good, forcible and intelligible language. These foster parents gave to Nancy educational advantages quite superior to their own. They sheltered her and brought her up virtuously and religiously. To her relatives she seemed a young woman of liberal education; her attainments in knowledge and character are greatly to her credit, and to the credit of these foster parents.

When Thomas and Elizabeth Sparrow, accompanied by their two foster children, returned to Mercer County in 1803, Nancy had become a young woman, capable of earning her own living. She was a skilled seamstress, and sometimes assisting her aunts and at other times working for neighbors and friends, she left wherever she lived a tradition of industry, intelligence and virtue. Cruel aspersions on her character were circulated after her son became famous, but not one of these originated in any place where she had ever lived, nor can any tradition be discovered, taking its rise among those who knew her, save those that proclaim her a young woman of marked ability and of high moral character, a woman fitted in mind and heart to be the mother of her illustrious son.

The wedding company is assembling at the Berry house on Beech Fork. Some friends have come in ox-wagons, but most of them on horseback. The horses from a distance have been turned into the pasture lot, but those that have come no farther than from Springfield, a matter of seven miles, have been relieved of their saddles and are tethered by their bridle-reins to the swinging limbs of the beech trees. They stamp their feet, and switch their tails, for it is fly-time, but they seldom break loose, and if one should, he would not wander from the others.

Let us join the company, and attend the wedding, never doubting our welcome, whether friend or stranger.

The wedding will occur about sunset, and the feast will be served by early candle-light. As we approach the house, we meet groups of men, lounging, discussing the "craps," talking about the corn and wondering whether it will be "knee high by the fourth of July," as by rhyme and reason it ought to be. The men are dressed mostly in hunting shirts and buckskin breeches, but here and there is one fashionably clad in jeans.

The woman are gathering in the house and on the porch. Some of them wear the fabrics Ann McGinty taught them to spin, of nettle-lint and buffalo-wool, but others are dressed in linsey-woolsey, for there are areas where a liberal bounty for scalps has made these neighborhoods nearly free from wolves and so available for sheep. There are fields that regularly are sown with the blue-blossoming flax. Scratchy garments it makes, for the means of ridding the thread from fiber are only partly effective; but there is evident advance in the matter of clothing, and even some approach to what seems luxury of attire.

From the cook-house come appetizing odors. The sun shines bright in the old Kentucky home; 'tis summer, the darkies are gay. Around behind the shed the musician is testing his home-made cat-gut with strains of *Turkey in the Straw,* the *Money-musk* and *Hey, Betty Martin, tip-toe, tip-toe.* The sawed floor (no puncheons) of the Berrys will resound with merry footfalls to-night. Even the Reverend Jesse Head will not find it easy to keep his feet still.

Yonder comes the parson. A few years later, he owned at one time two or three horses; for a circuit-riding preacher had need to be a good judge of horse-flesh, and on occasion capable of driving a profitable trade. But at this time he owned only an old gray mare, easily recognized at a considerable distance. There is a little hush in the conversation as he approaches, and one of the Berry brothers goes to the fence to meet him, and take his horse. The preacher 'lights and lifts his saddle, looking well to the back of his beast, to see that it does not scald in this hot weather. This done, he moves toward the house, walking with

authoritative step. He is tall, lean, wiry, with strong Roman nose, high cheek-bones and red hair. He is said to fear God, but he fears no Calvinist, or any other man. He greets his neighbors with cheerful and unaffected interest in their concerns. He is a man some people do not love, but whom every one respects, a hard-hitting, devil-fighting circuit-riding parson, striving mightily to save the wilderness from godlessness and savagery. Well may this company rise up and do him honor. It is the twelfth of June, 1806; Jesse Head was thirty-eight years old day before yesterday. He has been preaching now since he became a man, and he is to preach for many years to come. He has no reason to suppose that this wedding which he has come to solemnize is to be any different from those to which he is accustomed; but the great events of life do not come to us labeled.

The sun nears the horizon, and the company moves in a little nearer to the house. It is almost time for the ceremony. As the guests converge, they meet and greet the relatives of the bride and groom. The Lincolns are fairly well known, for Mordecai and Josiah live near by, and Mary and Nancy, though married and living some distance away, are not forgotten. Not so the aunts and uncles of the bride. They are strangers to nearly all the company, and must be introduced.

And now I wonder if I do not see two other guests, approaching the ford from the other side, and preparing to cross Beech Fork. Their horses dip their feet in the water and splash cheerfully, for the day has been warm and the water is pleasant. They pause as they enter the stream, and the horses drink and are refreshed. The man and woman talk together in a rather low tone, a tone of eager anticipation tinged with a little solicitude on her part, and one of calm assurance on his. They cross the stream and ride up to the fence. They heed the invitation to 'light and lift their saddles. They dismount and the woman goes to the house, while the man, accompanied by one of the hosts, leads the horses out to the pasture lot, and turns them loose for a roll and a feast of grass. Then he washes his face at the spring,

makes a proper toilet, and mingles for a time with the men, and in due season joins his wife.

They are there during the ceremony—I am almost sure of it—and they have good right to be there. Have they not ridden twenty miles to be present?

They are a well-looking couple, each about forty-two, he substantial and reliable, she of rather unusual vivacity and charm, holding her youth well into middle life. After the ceremony, we will meet them.

They are introduced as another uncle and aunt of the bride, from over in Mercer County, Mr. and Mrs. Henry Sparrow.

Yes, they have good right to be present.

CHAPTER V

THE CHILDHOOD OF LINCOLN

Nancy Hanks Lincoln sat in her splint-bottomed chair in the cabin on the Sinking Spring farm, and rocked her baby with quiet satisfaction. The chair was without rockers, and its front legs came down hard upon the earthen floor, but the baby appeared to enjoy it. As she rocked, she sang. She knew the old ballads which had come down by tradition in the literature of the illiterate. Some of them harked back to Old England. There was a ballad of Lord Bateman and the Turkish Lady, and another of the Cruelty of Barbara Allen. There was the song of Fair Eleanor (Nancy pronounced the name "Ellender") and the Brown Girl. The hero loved Fair Eleanor, but the Brown Girl she had lands and gold, Fair Eleanor she had none, so he riddled his riddle on maternal advice, and brought the Brown Girl home. He was bold about it, and he rode past Fair Eleanor's abode, and "he tingled at the ring," and invited Fair Eleanor to the wedding. She braved all the peril and the gossip, and she went. "Is this your bride?" Fair Eleanor said. "She seemeth me plagued brown; and you might have had as fair a maid as ever the sun shone on." The Brown Girl did not enjoy this comment on her personal appearance. She had come prepared to defend herself against any such aspersion. The Brown Girl she had a little slim knife, and it was keen and sharp; she reached around the corner of the table, and pierced Fair Eleanor's heart. When the hero saw Fair Eleanor dead, he drew his sword, cut off the Brown Girl's head "and slung it ag'in the wall." Then he stabbed himself to death. Those old songs were based upon the theory that two's company and three's a crowd. They were good and gory

and had abundance of melodrama, and they thrilled the hearts of shrill-voiced maidens all the way from Merry England to Virginia and over the mountains to Kentucky. They were better than many of the modern triangles, for at the end all three of the characters were decently dead, and the funeral may be presumed to have been conducted in accordance with the hero's dying instructions:

> And bury Fair Eleanor in my arms,
> And the Brown Girl at my feet.

Also she sang of the Romish lady, brought up in Poperie, and this was one of the songs which Abraham remembered and tried, though not very successfully, to sing.

She sang religious songs, such as abounded in the country. Many of them were "family songs" in which the successive stanzas varied only in the substitution of the words "fathers," "mothers," "preachers," and so on:

> Brothers, bear your cross;
> It will onlye make you richer,
> For to enter in that bri-*ight* kingdom by and by.

In singing songs containing such words as "only" the second syllable pronounced the "y" with the long sound, just as the high-priced soprano pronounces "wind," meaning the atmosphere in motion, to rhyme with "mind." They had their conventions in singing in Nancy's day, just as they have them now. The word "bright" had a curious syncopation that came in the middle of the word; you could see the brightness increase as the word was carried over the beat:

> For to enter in that bri-*ight* kingdom by and by.

There was another hymn whose syncopation had a lift that was almost physical:

You may bury me in the east,
You may bury me in the west,
And we'll all ri-*ise* together in that morning.

There was another which Mr. Sankey heard, and spoiled it by making its minor over into the major mode and giving it the tempo of a jig:

Jesus is a rock in a wearye land,
A wearye land, a wearye land;
Jesus is a rock in a wearye land,
A shelter in a time of storm.

As Nancy sang it, you could feel the weariness of the journey till your very bones ached, and you felt also the security of the shelter.

Sometimes Nancy sang long religious ballads, such as *Wicked Polly*. She'd go to parties, dance and play, in spite of all her parents would say: "I'll turn to God when I get old, and He will then receive my soul." But it did not happen that way. Stricken down in the midst of her frivolity, she called her mother to her bed, her eyes were rolling in her head: "When I am dead, remember well, your wicked Polly screams in hell."

Nancy sang such songs as these. Americans are said to take their pleasures sadly; the people of Nancy's locality and generation may be adjudged to have taken their religion in that fashion; but if they got more joy out of it in that way, who shall deny them the comfort of their lugubrious satisfaction? And who shall blame them if in times of religious excitement they went to the other extreme? A distant and superficial judgment might be that such a religion was worse than none; but that is not the judgment of one who has observed that type of religion in all its variant moods.

The baby slept, and Nancy laid him down and prepared supper for her husband and little Sarah. "Hog and hominy" had come to replace the primitive dependence upon game, and there was corn bread, and very rarely any other.

You should have seen Nancy bake bread. She stirred the meal in a wooden bowl, putting in nothing in addition to the meal but water and a pinch of salt. She scooped out a handful of the mush, turned it over and over in her palms, and put it into the open-hearth oven with a good cast of her hand and fingers on the top of each pone. Five or six of these pones made an oven-ful, and they were good.

While the pones were baking, you might have seen Nancy at her spinning-wheel. Of all arts ever invented to display the grace of the female form, in step and gesture and skill of eye and hand, there never has been anything to compare with spinning. It would be worth a journey to Nolin Creek just to see Nancy spin.

You watch Nancy as she goes to her cupboard, and you wonder with what dishes she will set her table, and whether, indeed, she has any dishes except perhaps wooden ones that Thomas has made for her. But I will tell you what she had, or part of it; for in addition to whatever she may previously have owned, her stock had been increased before the birth of Abraham and since the death of Thomas McIntire. Thomas Lincoln attended the auction sale of McIntire's personal property and made two rather large purchases. He bought a "Dish and Plates" for $2.68; and a "Bason and Spoons" for $3.34. These were not trivial sums in 1807. Nancy's cupboard was fairly well supplied with crockery and pewter.

Nancy was nothing less than proud of her table-wear when the preacher spent the night with them. The Severns Valley Baptist Church in Elizabethtown is the oldest church of that communion in the State of Kentucky. Hodgenville was a Baptist settlement also, one of its founders being a Baptist preacher. For him Nolin Creek is supposed to have been named; for he wandered away and is supposed to have been killed by the Indians; and when the hunting party came back, they sadly said, "No Lynn." So you must not accent the name *"Nolin"* on the first syllable; that is not the proper way. Say "No-lin" just as if you

were saying "No Lynn." They often spell it that way. In 1803, the Severns Valley Church established a branch on Nolin. Reverend Josiah Dodge preached there once a month, which was as often as any Baptist preacher was expected to preach in any one place in that day. When Brother Dodge rode over to Nolin or to the nearer church on South Fork and having preached a matter of two hours, spent the night with Brother and Sister Lincoln, he may have had hog and hominy for supper. But in the morning, he was wakened by a smothered squawk, and the flutter of feathers pulled down through leafy boughs, and the sharp stroke of an ax against the block. When he rose and went down to the Sinking Spring to wash his face, he saw a rooster's head at the block, and knew what he was to have for breakfast.

Nancy did not sit down at the table with the men. She attended to the processes under way on the hearth, and from time to time brought on more pone or bacon and whatever else there was to eat. Little Sarah did not have a high chair. She stood in a chair that was placed with its back to the table. With one hand she held to a chair-post and in the other she brandished one of the spoons from the McIntire sale.

The Sinking Spring farm had one picturesque feature, the spring. It was in a cave. Behind it the hill made a low bluff. In front the ground was nearly level, and the spring was reached by climbing down several steps. The water did not rise to the surface of the ground, but flowed away through a subterranean channel.

The site was pleasant and the water was good, but the soil was not fertile. It was hard to make a living there. Thomas Lincoln had paid two hundred dollars for the farm, and was to have made a small additional payment when the deed was delivered; but the deed was not delivered, and the suit followed. Thomas won his suit, but probably could not collect the money he had paid nor be sure of getting a good title. The land was sold, and bought in by Mather who paid seventy-eight dollars for it. Why Thomas, who had already invested much more than that in the

farm, did not raise the bid and get a court-title to the farm we do not know.

Three crop seasons and two winters the Lincolns lived on Nolin Creek, and then removed to the Knob Creek farm, where Abraham stayed from the time he was three until he was seven.

The birthplace of Lincoln, the cabin on the South Fork of Nolin Creek, has an interest which belongs to no other home of the future president; but the home of his earliest memories was that on Knob Creek.

Thomas Lincoln appears to have owned or occupied five houses in what was then Hardin County. The first of these, purchased before his marriage and not occupied by him afterward, was located on Mill Creek.* This farm consisted of 238 acres, and was purchased by Thomas Lincoln from Doctor John Toms Slater, September 2, 1803. It was paid for in cash, or its equivalent, the consideration being one hundred and eighteen pounds. The same farm, measured at two hundred acres, was sold by Thomas and Nancy Lincoln to Charles Milton, October 27, 1814.

*Until the publication of *The Paternity of Abraham Lincoln*, these transactions were confused by all authors who wrote of them. Lamon assumed that this was the Knob Creek farm, and so did Herndon. Other authors assumed that this was the Nolin Creek farm, and that Thomas Lincoln had been improving it for three years before his marriage, and that during his residence, with Nancy, in Elizabethtown, he was building the house where Abraham was to be born. A complete record of Thomas Lincoln's ownership of this property is given in *The Paternity of Abraham Lincoln*. Miss Tarbell, who thought her finding of the Slater sale to Lincoln to have been an original discovery, supposed this to have been the farm where Lincoln was born. She tells us that Thomas Lincoln "moved to the farm he had bought in 1803 on the South Fork of Nolin Creek, in Hardin County, now Larue County, three miles from Hodgenville, and about fourteen miles from Elizabethtown. Here he was living when, on February 12, 1809, his second child, a boy, was born. The little new comer was called Abraham." (Vol. i, p. 14.) Most authorities have followed either Lamon in assuming that the farm purchased by Thomas Lincoln and sold to Milton was the Knob Creek farm, or Miss Tarbell in assuming that it was the Nolin Creek farm. All are wrong. The Mill Creek farm has been identified, and it is many miles from either of the others. Nancy Hanks never lived upon it. Thomas Lincoln may have lived here for a time before his marriage, or he may have worked it in desultory fashion in 1803 and 1804, while boarding with his sister Nancy Brumfield. For further information reference may be made to my address before the Filson Club of Louisville on *The Lincolns in Their Old Kentucky Home*.

The next home of Thomas Lincoln in Hardin County was the cabin in Elizabethtown, which in 1865 and subsequent years was shown in steel engravings and other reproductions as the birthplace of Abraham Lincoln. Of this cabin Lamon wrote in 1872, basing his statements on Herndon's visit to Kentucky in 1866:

Lincoln took Nancy to live in a shed in one of the alleys in Elizabethtown. It was a very sorry building, and nearly bare of furniture. It stands yet, or did in 1866, to witness for itself the wretched poverty of its early inmates. It is about fourteen feet square, has been three times removed, twice used as a slaughter house and once as a stable. Here a daughter was born on the tenth of February, 1807, who was called Nancy during the life of her mother, and after her death, Sarah.*

The foregoing is correct, except that the little girl was Sarah, and never called Nancy, and that the occupancy of a cabin fourteen feet square is no certain proof of wretchedness. The house is no longer standing. Its site is disputed; but has been identified with reasonable certainty.†

In the spring or early summer of 1808, Thomas and Nancy Lincoln, with little Sarah, moved from Elizabethtown, and are believed to have lived for a few months on the farm of George Brownfield, near Buffalo, in what is now Larue County. The site of their cabin has been identified. It is in the "plumb-orchard," a grove of wild crab-apples.‡

*_Life of Lincoln_, pp. 12-13.

†Here again, as in very much that relates to matters in Hardin County, I acknowledge my debt to Reverend Louis A. Warren, in company with whom I have visited, and in some instances repeatedly, these and all other sites relating to Lincoln in Hardin County.

‡The discovery of this home was made in the search for information at the time the government took over the Lincoln farm. I have given the facts, as that investigation appeared to establish them, and as I received them from Honorable L. B. Handley, attorney for the Lincoln Farm Association. The spot was identified for me by Honorable Richard Creel, Judge of Larue County. For the affidavits concerning this and kindred matters, I refer the reader to the appendices of *The Paternity of Abraham Lincoln*. I am endeavoring to repeat in this volume only what is essential to a continuous narrative. *The Paternity of Abraham Lincoln* and *The Soul of Abraham Lincoln* both contain important matter which I must not undertake to duplicate here.

In this cabin they were tenants while Thomas Lincoln worked as carpenter and farm laborer for the man who owned the cabin. When they moved from here, in the autumn or early winter of 1808, it was to the humble home near the Rock Spring or Sinking Spring, which the birth of their son in the following winter made forever illustrious.*

The removal of Thomas Lincoln from Nolin Creek to Knob Creek appears upon the face of it an unimportant shifting of a migratory family from one farm to another in the same county. Viewed only as a removal of twelve miles, it is not surprising that its significance has been overlooked by students of the life of Lincoln. But he who journeys over the roads, and becomes acquainted with the environment, discovers that the transfer from the one rough farm to the other a little less rough was an event of considerable importance.

The two farms were in the same county, and lawsuits or trade called Thomas Lincoln occasionally to the county-seat, Elizabethtown; but except when he had business in court, which was not very often, he found it easier to go to Bardstown, the county-seat of Nelson County; for the distance was the same, and the road to Bardstown was better. Except for his small amount of official business, as his lawsuits over the title to his farms, and his appointment as road "surveyor," he had little to take him back to his own county-seat, and not much more to take him to his old neighborhood on Nolin. An epoch in the life of the Lincolns ended with this short migration.

This removal transferred the family across Muldraugh's Hill, which is not a hill, but an escarpment facing the Blue Grass region. It extends from West Point, in the southwest corner of Jefferson County near where Rolling Fork enters the Ohio River, southeastward to the vicinity of Brodhead, Rockcastle County, thence northeastward to the Ohio River west of Vanceburg, Lewis County.

*The purchase of the farm was December 12, 1808, but the Lincolns may have been living there a few weeks earlier.

Knob Creek is in the hills, but it is a short stream which quickly finds the Blue Grass. Thomas Lincoln changed his outlook on life by this migration of a dozen miles.

The Lincoln farm was situated in the forks of Knob Creek. There were three fields, lying in the rather fertile valley. Thomas Lincoln made no attempt to cultivate the hillslopes of his farm, the three little fields affording him sufficient labor. The house stood on the opposite side of the road from the large house afterward erected and still standing, and the site may still be found.

It was while living on Knob Creek that Abraham Lincoln first went to school. The site of the schoolhouse has been identified for me by Francis X. Rapier.*

This is his statement to me:

My father, Nicholas A. Rapier, born in 1820, moved to Knob Creek about 1842 or 1843. The Lincoln farm remained in our family until twelve or fifteen years ago. I was born on the Knob Creek Lincoln farm. The Lincoln house was still standing in my childhood, but was not used as a house. The house which our family occupied is on the right as one goes down the creek toward Athertonville and New Haven. The two creeks meet in the middle of the farm. The road crosses a bridge where the creek comes in from the left. Just this side of the bridge, that is, on the side nearer Muldraugh's Hill, is a large farm gate. A little distance inside that gate is a slight elevation where the house stood. That little elevation has always been used as a feeding place for cattle, being a little above the bottom land, and hence more dry. That doubtless was the reason why the spot was selected for a house; and as it was used as a barn in my father's ownership, the stock gathered there, and the spot continued to be used as a feeding-place after the old shed disappeared. The gate shows the general course of the short path from the road to the front door of the house.

This road was a part of the old Louisville and Nashville turnpike, and my father fed stage passengers. Thomas Lincoln's

*Mr. Rapier, who had not previously been interviewed, made this interesting statement to me in 1920, and I wrote it at the time, and have confirmed his statements on the testimony of other old residents of the locality.

cabin was then just a cattle shed. But we were in no uncertainty about it.

I have never been interviewed by any writer of books about Lincoln. But I was born across the road from the cabin where he lived, and talked with all the men who knew him and were living when Lincoln became famous; and I presume that I am nearer to accurate sources of knowledge of the life of the Lincoln family while living on Knob Creek than any one else.

The schoolhouse was a mile and a half from the Lincoln home. It is on the left as you drive into Athertonville, just as you pass the first house, on a little elevation about a hundred yards up a little run or "holler."

Old man Austin Gollaher lived not far away from us. We had a good well, and he liked to drink the water. He came to our house almost every day. He wore trap-door trousers and coarse white shirts with knit suspenders. I seldom saw him with a coat. He was the only man I ever knew who attended school with Abraham Lincoln.

He said Lincoln attended very little. All the boys at that time used to wear just one long garment in the summer time: the darkies still run around in their shirt-tails, and in those days all the boys wore long tow shirts. But in school, trousers were expected, and Austin said Abe had his first pair of pants when he went to school. But he said Abe did not have a hat. Hats were about the hardest garments to get. Coonskin caps were common, but the boy who had a wool hat was in style, and Gollaher was quite certain that when Abe first came to school he was shy a hat. His impression was that Abe had no school book of his own; but that was not so uncommon. He knew Abe best of any one who was living here after Lincoln became famous, but of course what he remembered had happened many years before, and there was not a great deal that he could really tell. He liked to talk of it, however, and I have heard him tell his story many times.

Austin Gollaher gained considerable celebrity in his old age by his claim to have saved the life of the boy Abraham Lincoln. The story has been published in several Lives of Lincoln, perhaps the best version, though not one of the earliest, is that recorded by D. J. Thomas in an interview with Austin Gollaher:

"Yes," said Mr. Gollaher, "the story that I once saved Abraham Lincoln's life is true, but it is not correct as generally related.

"Abraham Lincoln and I had been going to school together for a year or more, and had become greatly attached to each other. Then school disbanded on account of there being so few scholars, and we did not see each other much for a long while. One Sunday my mother visited the Lincolns, and I was taken along. Abe and I played around all day. Finally, we concluded to cross the creek to hunt for some partridges young Lincoln had seen the day before. The creek was swollen by a recent rain, and, in crossing on the narrow footlog, Abe fell in. Neither of us could swim. I got a long pole and held it out to Abe, who grabbed it. Then I pulled him ashore. He was almost dead, and I was badly scared. I rolled and pounded him in good earnest. Then I got him by the arms and shook him, the water meanwhile pouring out of his mouth. By this means I succeeded in bringing him to, and he was soon all right.

"Then a new difficulty confronted us. If our mothers discovered our wet clothes they would whip us. This we dreaded from experience, and determined to avoid. It was June, the sun was very warm, and we soon dried our clothing by spreading it on the rocks about us. We promised never to tell the story, and I never did until after Lincoln's tragic end.

"Abraham Lincoln had a sister. Her name was Sallie, and she was a very pretty girl. Sallie Lincoln was about my age; she was my sweetheart. I loved her and claimed her, as boys do. I suppose that was one reason for my warm regard for Abe. When the Lincoln family moved to Indiana, I was prevented by circumstances from bidding good-by to either of the children, and I never saw them again."*

If this story is authentic, it entitles Austin Gollaher to our very warm thanks. But Newton Bateman, in his *Biographical Encyclopedia of Illinois,* reminds us that Dennis Hanks claimed to have performed this brave deed; and added: "Austin Gollaher, a school- and play-mate of Lincoln's, has also made the same claim for himself—the two stories presumably referring to the same event."†

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*_Early Life of Lincoln_, by Ida M. Tarbell, pp. 45, 46; also her _Abraham Lincoln_, i, pp. 14, 15.

†Revised edition, Vol. I, p. 219.

In June, 1886, Honorable A. M. Brown, of Louisville, who had a sister living in Larue County, went at the request of Colonel R. T. Durrett to interview Austin Gollaher, and wrote out the account of his interview on June 17, 1886. The manuscript is now in the Durrett Collection in the Library of the University of Chicago.*

Mr. Brown was impressed with the sincerity of Gollaher, whom he described as an evidently honest and a well-preserved old man. He noted, however, that Gollaher stated that it was in 1812 that he saved the life of Abraham Lincoln, and that at that time Abraham was three years old and Austin five. He also ascertained that the Gollaher family did not reside in Hardin County until 1812, and that Gollaher's memory of the removal of the Lincolns was that when they left Knob Creek they first moved into another part of Hardin County and thence, subsequently, to Indiana. It is interesting to note how Gollaher's memory improved in later years to the point where he thought that his mother was among those present at the birth of Lincoln, and his own knowledge of the date of the Lincoln removal from Kentucky seemed to him sufficiently clear to enable him to correct the historians.

Let the reader think back to his own school-days, and recall, if he can, some boy who attended school more or less irregularly for two or three terms and with whom he occasionally played, whose family moved into the neighborhood when he was three and moved away when he was seven, and was not heard from afterward for something like fifty years. Just how much could the reader, relying solely upon his own unaided memory, add to a biography of that boy?

Austin Gollaher bore a good reputation for truthfulness, and I, who never knew Mr. Gollaher, have a distinct impression that he tried at first to tell what he actually remembered about Lincoln. But as he grew older, he was pressed by different inter-

*To this collection I am indebted for much important assistance.

viewers to remember additional details, and if he did not supply those details the interviewer sometimes did.*

Austin Gollaher's memories of Lincoln's life as a pupil in a Kentucky school were very meager. Abraham attended irregularly; the school was cut short because the number of pupils was small. It was not, of course, a free school, but a subscription school, and there was little to make it profitable for the teacher, and not much more to make it profitable for the pupils. The boys can not have seen each other very frequently. A survey made about the time the Lincolns were leaving shows the location of the home of nine neighbors of the Lincolns, nearly or quite all of them nearer than the Gollahers. I have traveled the road between the two homes, and it can not be less than three miles from one house to the other. Three miles in a rough and wooded country is not a short distance.

This may be as good a place as any to comment upon the testimony of men and women who knew Lincoln personally, and whose recollections form invaluable material for the historian. Their testimony is not to be regarded lightly. The reminiscences of a person who actually knew Lincoln at any stage of his career are worth gathering and are entitled to careful consideration. Innumerable such persons have contributed to this work by personal narration and by correspondence. Most of the people who knew Lincoln and who tell their experience to a biographer endeavor to tell their story truthfully. But one has frequent occasion to recall the comment of Falstaff, on the lack of veracity in old men.

The old man or woman who recalls for publication his memo-

*J. Rogers Gore, who lived for some years in Hodgenville, gathered up the entire tradition of the neighborhood and for the sake of unity put it all into the mouth of Gollaher. His book, *The Boyhood of Lincoln,* presents this tradition, and does not intend to represent that Gollaher personally knew all that he is credited with saying in that book. In fact, he could not have known any very large fraction of what the book tells. The book belongs in the class of rather highly imaginative historical fiction rather than history, and gathers up in readable form the gossip of later years. I have talked with Mr. Gore, who has told me in detail of his many conversations with Gollaher.

ries of Lincoln is under very strong temptation to enlarge somewhat upon his actual recollections. Time itself tends to the enlarging of the story. The questions of interviewers suggest details which are unconsciously filled in. Above all, there is a tendency to add details appropriated from what one has heard or read.

I could name certain very respectable persons whose published reminiscences of Lincoln are well known, some of these persons still living and more of them dead, of whom it would be safe to say that the Lincoln they describe is only in minor part the Lincoln they personally knew; the outline furnished by their own actual memory has been filled in with detail and color borrowed from their reading or from the stories of others.

It would greatly simplify the task of the historian if he could say, "John Doe knew Lincoln; John Doe is a truthful man; John Doe relates this incident; I will therefore record it, and cause it to be written down as accredited history." Too largely have histories and biographies been made in this fashion. John Doe did indeed know Lincoln, and John Doe is a truthful man. But John Doe did not make record of his interviews with Lincoln at the time, nor did he then count them of particular significance; and many years went by before they seemed to him important enough to print. Meantime, John Doe told his reminiscences a good many times. At first he related them to friends in conversation. Year by year as he told them, and his friends showed interest, additional details occurred to him, not quite all of them imaginary. When men who had known Lincoln more intimately or in matters of larger public interest died, John Doe found himself the object of increasing attention. Representatives of the press called upon him, and photographed him, and put his story into more readable shape. He read his own enlarged story as it appeared in print, and easily believed it in its more pleasing form. Subsequent interviews imposed additional demands upon his memory. John Doe knew Lincoln; John Doe is a truthful man; I am greatly indebted to John Doe and to his friend, Richard

Roe, who also knew Lincoln. But the task of the biographer is not finished when he has collected their statements and those of other men like them. There still remains the serious task of critical historical judgment, analysis and construction.

Ex-President Eliot, of Harvard, has published a book of essays and addresses prepared by him between the ages of eighty and ninety. In one of these he deals with the defective character of our education in the training of the perceptive faculties. He says that the average American, young or old, rich or poor, educated or uneducated, can not see straight or hear straight, or think straight, and can not relate with reasonable accuracy one hour afterward a conversation in which he has participated or an incident which he has witnessed. If this be true, and I think it is, what historian or biographer can be saved? For history and biography are based on testimony gathered for the most part many years after the events described, and after those events have come to take on quite other significance than at the time was understood. The answer is that historians and biographers have reason to be more careful than many of them are or have been; and that much history deserves the stinging definition of Voltaire, "a lie agreed to."

I may illustrate the ease with which a Lincoln biographer can fall into error. In 1922 I delivered before the Chicago Historical Society an address on *The Influence of Chicago upon Abraham Lincoln.** As part of the preparation I compiled a list of Abraham Lincoln's known visits to Chicago. I now could add a few visits to the list then made, but it was for the purposes of my lecture an adequate as it was also an instructive list. Among other things, I published in the Chicago daily press a statement that I was preparing this address and requested all persons who had seen Lincoln in Chicago to write to me. I had many interesting letters, and received some valuable information. But many people told me of seeing Lincoln in Chicago on dates when I knew he was elsewhere. For example, a number pro-

*This address has been published by the University of Chicago Press.

fessed to have seen him at the Republican Convention in 1860, a convention which he did not attend.

Dwight L. Moody was accustomed to tell, and his son relates in his *Life* of his father, how Lincoln addressed Moody's Sunday-school when Lincoln was on his way to his inauguration, in February, 1861. But Lincoln did not pass through Chicago on his way to his inauguration. Bishop Charles E. Cheney, of the Reformed Episcopal Church, in an address in Memorial Hall, on Lincoln's Birthday in 1914, related that he preached in St. James Church on Christmas Day in 1860 and that Lincoln was present. But Lincoln spent that last Christmas before his inauguration in his Springfield home.

If Chicago ever had two truthful citizens, they were D. L. Moody and Bishop Cheney, but both were mistaken. On Sunday, November 26, 1860, Lincoln attended St. James Church with the family of Honorable Isaac N. Arnold, and on the afternoon of the same day spoke in Mr. Moody's North Market Mission. So I learned from the *Chicago Tribune* of Monday, November 27, 1860, and it was correct.

For ordinary purposes, the mistakes of Mr. Moody and of Bishop Cheney were unimportant. The incidents as they related them were correct, except as to the date. But for the purposes of the historian an accurate use of dates is highly important, as well as exceedingly difficult.

If these two unusually intelligent and honest men could be mistaken in a matter of this character, there is great need to scrutinize carefully recollections submitted as sources of history. Yet I will not say in my haste that all men are liars; in general a tradition has in it a kernel of truth. This book contains many such kernels, separated with some difficulty from their husks of exaggeration and unintentional misrepresentation.

Thomas Lincoln's new outlook into the world was toward the prosperous settlements of the Roman Catholics in the neighborhood of Bardstown. Edward Eggleston has reminded us how

frequently the first teachers of frontier schools were Irishmen. Abraham Lincoln's first school-teacher was an Irish Catholic.

"Before leaving Kentucky, he and his sister were sent, for short periods, to A B C schools, the first kept by Zachariah Riney, and the second by Caleb Hazel." So wrote Abraham Lincoln for John L. Scripps, in 1860. His earlier autobiography, written in 1859 for Jesse W. Fell, told of his schooling in Indiana, but said nothing about these two brief periods of instruction in Kentucky.

The schools which Lincoln attended were "blab-schools." The pupils were required to study aloud, as an evidence that they were studying at all.* Text books were very few, a majority of the pupils having only a speller. Dilworth's speller was used at the first, then Webster's *Old Blueback*.

Not all the children of the neighborhood attended school. If a boy who was not in school passed within earshot of the schoolhouse and cried "School-butter" he had need to be fleet of foot to escape punishment at the hand of the pupils. Just what the phrase meant, no one appears to know, but it was the common insult and challenge, the appeal to the "town and gown" hostility that manifests itself all the way from Knob Creek to Cambridge and Heidelberg. The cry of "Hey Rube" in a circus does not more quickly rally all employees of the show to fight the outside populace than did the cry of "School-butter" rally the students to punish the unlearned and insolent of the world that lay extra-mural to the frontier school.

Lincoln was too small to have participated in any of these class struggles of his first school experience, and too young also to have had a share in the occasional attempts of the pupils to lock the teacher out. Indeed, we know almost nothing of his school experiences while a boy in Kentucky.

Nicolay and Hay say of these early years:

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*For further facts about primitive Kentucky schools, based in part upon the author's personal experience as a teacher in schools in the hills of Kentucky, the reader is referred to *The Soul of Abraham Lincoln*.

Of all these years of Abraham Lincoln's childhood, we know almost nothing. He lived a solitary life in the woods, returning from his lonesome little games to his cheerless home. He never talked of those days to his most intimate friends. Once, when asked what he remembered about the war with Great Britain, he replied, "Nothing but this. I had been fishing one day and caught a little fish which I was taking home. I met a soldier in the road, and having always been told at home that we must be good to soldiers, I gave him my fish!" This is only a faint glimpse, but what it shows is rather pleasant—the generous child and the patriotic household. But there is no question that these first years of his life had their lasting effect upon the temperament of this great mirthful and melancholy man. He had little schooling. He accompanied his sister Sarah* to the only schools that existed in the neighborhood, one kept by Zachariah Riney and the other by Caleb Hazel, where he learned his alphabet and a little more. But of all those advantages for the cultivation of a young mind and spirit which every home now offers to its children, the books, toys, ingenious games, and daily devotion of paternal love, he knew absolutely nothing.†

Life in the Knob Creek cabin proceeded along a line so well defined by the conditions of frontier life, and so familiar to those who have known life of that character that we have no uncertainty concerning its essential details. Thomas Lincoln annually scratched the surface of his three little fields, the largest of which contained seven acres, using a wooden plow shod with iron. His main crop was corn; but he had some beans, and he dropped a pumpkin seed into every third hill of corn. Abraham when a small boy was taught the art of corn-dropping, and instructed to remember the pumpkin seed in the third hill. The corn was cultivated with a "bull-tongue" plow, Abraham in his last year in Kentucky riding the horse to plow between the corn-

*Nicolay and Hay fell into the error of saying that she was sometimes called Nancy. They suggest that she was named for her mother and that she took her stepmother's name after her mother's death. I have discussed this question in *The Paternity of Abraham Lincoln*. Her name was Sarah, first and always. The name Nancy came to her from the torn page in the family Bible, her own name having been lost in the part that was worn off, and her mother's name mistaken for hers.

†*Abraham Lincoln: A History*, i, p. 27.

rows. Thomas also planted some potatoes and a few onions, and Nancy may have had a small garden and a few flowers.

Thomas Lincoln was a good judge of horses. The Estray Books contain for the most part stereotyped notices to the effect that John Smith took up as an estray at his farm on Bull Skin Creek, a bay mare, or a brindle cow. When Thomas Lincoln reported an estray, he measured the height in hands, and looked at the teeth for age, and noted all the marks and brands. He was never without horses after his coming of age, and on Knob Creek he owned a stallion and several brood mares.

He attended the auction sale of the personal property of Jonathan Joseph in 1814. Three heifers were sold at auction, and Thomas Lincoln bought the best one, as judged by the price. He habitually attended auctions, and with sufficient money in his pocket to be a successful bidder, and his purchases were sensible.

With one possible exception:

On July 19, 1814, he attended the auction sale of the estate of Thomas Hall and made several purchases. A sword which he bought is easily accounted for; he wanted to make it over into a drawing-knife. But he bought a "truck-waggon" for 8½ cents. What kind of wagon could he have bought for that price? No kind of wagon, so far as I know, but a toy. Abraham was then five years and five months of age. I imagine Abraham was the happiest lad on Knob Creek that night.

These are trivial incidents; but they afford us little flashes of light on the boyhood of Lincoln; we have very meager material at the best, and much of it none too reliable. Let us therefore be glad of these unimportant records that assist us in rescuing from oblivion a little of the childhood of our great president.

While actual details are lacking, we have no difficulty in supplying the essential facts of the life of the Lincoln family on Knob Creek from our knowledge of the nature of the farm and of frontier life of the period. We know with reasonable accuracy how Abraham Lincoln lived in his childhood, and the conditions of life in the home of his father and mother.

It is not probable that Nancy Lincoln had a button to her back. Her dresses were of linsey-woolsey and they were put on and removed without any needless enlarging or closing of the aperture at the neck. One or two pins may have been used at the throat, but pins were a luxury. Nor did she possess a hair-pin. She probably wore a horn-comb, and it may have been ornamental. In that region, the hair of a woman is always slipping from its one mooring, and coming loose. The owner must frequently remove her back-comb, run it through her hair a few times, coil up the hair again, and refasten it with her comb. A woman in the hills of Kentucky never starts any new occupation without first winding herself up in this fashion.

Cows were cheap. A good cow and calf could usually be bought for ten dollars. Feed for cattle cost nothing from early spring until late in the fall; for the cattle ranged freely in the woods, but usually came home at night to their calves. When they did not come home, some one had to hunt for them; and that was likely to be a wearisome quest. Nancy milked the cows until Sarah was old enough to relieve her of this duty; does not the word "daughter" mean "milker"? This is the way Sarah milked. First of all, she drove the cow into a fence-corner, and then led the calf out of the pen, and permitted the calf to begin its meal. This induced the cow to let down her milk. The prospect of a speedy meeting with the calf was a strong inducement to the cow to come home at night; one cow with a young calf could usually be depended upon to lead the entire herd to the fence at milking time. When the milk was ready to flow freely, Sarah led the protesting calf back into the pen or shed, and proceeded to secure the family's share of the milk. She did not use a milking stool, but stood and with her right hand milked into a gourd which she held in her left hand. Now and then she stopped to empty the gourd into a bucket placed in an adjacent fence-corner, safe from the danger of being kicked over. After she had obtained as much milk as she deemed equitable, she brought back the calf; and the calf had the rich strippings, while

the mother contentedly licked her offspring. This was a happy hour for both cow and calf; for there was no reason to lead the calf away abruptly; and the calf continued to enjoy the cow, and the cow likewise enjoyed the companionship of the calf for perhaps an hour.

Of duties inside the house, we also know the daily routine.

Thomas worked his little farm, not industriously, but with sufficient labor to produce each season a little crop of corn; now and then he cheerfully went by invitation to do an odd job of carpenter work; but Nancy worked at home every day. If Thomas had sheep, she carded, spun and wove. In the absence of wool, she knew the uses of buffalo-wool. The chafing-dish was unknown to her, but she was on terms of intimate friendship with its predecessor, the skillet. She laid hold of the spindle and her hands knew the distaff. She ate not the bread of idleness. But let no one suppose that Nancy was overworked. Women had plenty of spare time until the invention of the sewing-machine and other labor-saving devices for women. Not till these came to lighten their toil were they worked and worried into nervous prostration by the burden of their house-work. Nancy was able to finish all her necessary work early in the afternoon; and, having no rocking-chair, she held her baby in her arms as she sat in a low splint-bottomed chair whose front legs thumped the puncheon floor, if indeed, the Knob Creek cabin had such a floor. There was a certain unhurried spirit about the labor of the pioneer household, a spirit which we have quite lost in these more leisurely times. The pioneer did not fret because he could not cut down the whole forest in a single year. He accepted his situation, and when his day's work was done, he rested and visited and took life as comfortably as he was able. Nancy knew what to do in her hours of ease; we work very hard to attain a leisure which we do not deserve and do not know how to use.

Nor was life in those conditions devoid of a certain simple luxury. Now and then Thomas cut down a bee-tree, and then

the family had honey, some of which was kept in a crock against the time of need. Occasionally he did a day's work in Bardstown and took his pay in unbolted wheat flour. Who that has never lived long on hoe-cake and corn-pone with sorghum molasses (a plural noun) for "long-sweetening" can know the sheer delight of hot biscuit and honey? And there was wild turkey, and in time there were chickens to fry. The creek furnished fish. The Knob Creek farm provided a reasonably sure living with a minimum of physical exertion.

Nor were occasions of special festivity lacking. There were corn-huskings and frolics and raisings and weddings and camp-meetings and funerals. And there was the monthly preaching service.

Besides all this, the Knob Creek farm was on the main road from Louisville to Nashville. Travelers went by every day, and sometimes stopped and talked. There was a mill on Knob Creek as early as 1797, and that was an important social center. Moreover, Caleb Hazel, father of Lincoln's school-teacher of the same name, kept a tavern, where he provided things to eat and also to drink. Sometimes he paid his license, and sometimes he paid his fine.

Life on Knob Creek was not so dull as has been imagined. Compared with Nolin Creek, the Knob Creek farm was located on Main Street of the Kentucky wilderness.

The Knob Creek farm was more fertile and more easily tilled than that on Nolin Creek; and here Abraham had his first experience in riding a horse to plow corn. The farm was subject to sudden rise of water, which sometimes flooded the valley almost without warning when a heavy storm broke over the hill, and the plain would be submerged when there had been little or no rain at the cabin. One such storm came just after corn-planting and seemed to wash all the seed and soil away, and to leave instead only sand and clay.*

*On my last visit to Knob Creek, in June, 1923, the bridge on the main road through the Lincoln farm had been washed out by one of these freshets, and we had to ford Knob Creek twice on Lincoln land.

The nature of the claim of Thomas Lincoln upon the Knob Creek property is disclosed in the papers of the eviction suit. He bought the land, thirty acres, from George Lindsey, but as yet did not have a deed. He and Lindsey continued as defendants in the Hardin County Court while suits against the other alleged squatters were transferred to Nelson County on change of venue, the plaintiffs alleging that they could not obtain justice in Hardin. In a bill of exceptions it is stated that Lindsey was Lincoln's landlord and was absent in Breckenridge County; and that Lincoln as tenant had papers served upon him. This means that the title stood in the name of Lindsey, and that Lincoln occupied it as tenant subject to Lindsey's ability to give clear title, the balance of purchase money to have been then paid. Lincoln paid taxes on this farm; and the papers in the suit indicate plainly that he was considered the owner of that small part, thirty acres, of the land in controversy. It is further of record that Lincoln, being sued as a trespasser, won his suit,* which he could hardly have done if he had not had valid title to the land. Evidently there were several small purchases, ten of them being indicated upon a plat which was introduced as evidence, and which is preserved, these being portions of a much larger tract owned under a conflicting patent by parties resident in Philadelphia.

This suit, instituted January 1, 1815, and decided June 9, 1818,† shows that the farm was a part of a tract of ten thousand acres, surveyed in 1784, and patented in 1786 by Thomas Middleton. Lincoln and the other alleged squatters who were sued at the same time, were successful, but Lincoln had already removed from Knob Creek to Indiana, alleging as one of his reasons for removal the uncertainty of land titles in Kentucky.‡

*For the records of this suit I am indebted to Honorable George Holbert and Reverend Louis A. Warren.

†See the chapter on Thomas Lincoln in *The Paternity of Abraham Lincoln*. The records are in Civil Order Books E and F, Hardin County Court.

‡It is necessary to remind the reader that all that Lamon has told us about the title to this farm is incorrect; and that other authors have not helped to clarify his errors. Lamon utterly confused the several Lincoln farms in Kentucky, and those who have since attempted to correct his errors have not improved upon his conjectures.

On the whole the Knob Creek farm was a desirable one, save for the uncertainty about the title. Doubtless the place was visited by agents of the Philadelphia claimants, and then came vague rumors, followed by actual litigation. Thomas Lincoln stood better with the Hardin County juries than did the people in Philadelphia; but his tenure was uncertain; so he loaded his goods into his flatboat, and set forth to discover Indiana.

If Thomas Lincoln had launched his flatboat on Nolin Creek, he would have followed the meanderings of that stream and Green River two hundred fifty-six miles to reach the Ohio, and would have entered that river forty-six miles, by the Ohio channel, below the landing for their home in Indiana. He would not have made his way up-stream to the same place, nor is it very likely that he would have landed in Indiana, for settlements were more abundant below the mouth of Green River, toward the mouths of the Wabash, Cumberland and Tennessee; he would have been rather more likely to float on to Missouri and have made his home in that state, as many Kentuckians did, among them Daniel Boone. But when he floated away from his Knob Creek farm, he had only forty-two miles, instead of two hundred fifty-six, to sail until he reached the Ohio, and then about fifty miles to Thompson's Ferry in Perry County, Indiana. If Thomas Lincoln had continued to live on a stream whose mouth was so far from the Ohio, would he have gone out of Kentucky in that way at all? If so, he certainly would not have made his home where he did in Indiana, and in either event the whole story of Abraham Lincoln's life would thenceforth have been materially modified.*

Of Abraham Lincoln's life in this environment few authentic traditions remain. The years were uneventful. The labored efforts of later decades to fill in this gap bear on their face the marks of invention. But these were not lost years in Lincoln's life. I have seen much of the life of boys and girls reared amid

*I am indebted to the United States Geological Survey and to the Kentucky Geological Survey for these measurements and related data.

such surroundings, and have no difficulty in thinking of Lincoln's boyhood as a period fruitful of good.

It is sometimes assumed that life amid beautiful scenery is inspired from infancy by the charm of such surroundings. If this were true, all people born on Knob Creek should have been poets, for the scenery, while not majestic, is attractive and picturesque. But my own observation does not wholly sustain the opinion that features of natural beauty inevitably inspire the souls of those who reside among them. Most people I have known who spend their lives amid mountains accept their situation with stolid patience. A hill is not something to be admired, but something whose climb is to be avoided if possible. Such people do not ascend a hill to behold a sunset. It would be difficult to conjecture what natural phenomenon, as eclipse or comet, would induce the average mountaineer to climb a hill. History may almost be said to have been made by the disinclination of humanity to climb hills; mountain ranges hardly less than oceans are effective national boundaries. But now and then a mountain lad feels from his childhood the companionship of the hills.

I remember riding many years ago along a valley in the Kentucky highlands, beside a stream that wound past the base of a prominent and exceptionally high mountain. Between the road and the hill, in a place where the valley widened a little, stood a cabin. A little distance up the road from the cabin, in a place where the clearing gave a good view, stood a boy of nine or ten. The sun was coming over the range of hills, and, shining through a notch it lit up his face. He was looking at the hill, and talking to it in a sing-song chant which he had composed:

"Oh, Mountain, big and high:
I'll stand on you and I'll touch the sky!"

He chanted this over and over, pausing each time to listen to the echo of his own voice. The road was little traveled, and the boy talked to the mountain with no expectation of intrusion. As

he saw a stranger approaching he ceased his chant and slipped away into the woods with evident embarrassment. The traveler wanted to stop and talk with him, but the boy would not come. He felt ashamed that he had been overheard in his dialogue with the high hill in whose shadow he dwelt.

I do not remember any other incident of precisely this character, either in the Kentucky hills or in any other mountainous regions which I have visited. That boy had in him something unusual.

Abraham Lincoln may not have done that sort of thing when he lived on Knob Creek; but his surroundings there were more calculated to inspire such moods than any in which he ever lived elsewhere. Much more romantic than Nolin, Knob Creek was a place to stir the boyish imagination. In some fashion, the strength of the hills became his in those years in the Knob Creek cabin. When, now and then, I recall the chant of that mountain boy, I am somehow reminded of Lincoln on Knob Creek. Child that he was, and with a narrowed horizon walled in by almost insuperable heights that shut him from contact with the outer world, save as that world plodded along the rough road down Muldraugh's Hill and along the creek, he was not wholly out of touch with the beginnings of imagination and aspiration and nascent achievement. There was more in that environment than on Nolin to answer his own inward strivings. Already there was the beginning of the answer to America's call, as interpreted by Sam Walter Foss:

"Give me men to match my mountains!"

We can not suppose that the Lincoln family left Knob Creek without a final round of visits from their relations. Thomas and Elizabeth Sparrow and Levi and Nancy Hall and Jesse and Polly Friend must all have come to hear Thomas Lincoln's account of the Indiana he had visited and to which he and his family were about to migrate. And it is not to be doubted for a moment that Henry and Lucy Sparrow rode over from Doctor's

Fork to Knob Creek and spent a night before the final removal. The outward relations between Lucy and her daughter were those of aunt and niece, and Abraham did not suspect that this woman of fifty years sustained toward his mother any closer relation than did her Aunts Polly and Nancy, nor as close as her Aunt Betty. But Lucy and Nancy knew. And when Lucy looked at this lad of seven and commented on his growth since her last visit, and the progress he was making at school, her heart must have given a significant leap; for she knew that he was her own grandson. Both she and Nancy kept these things and pondered them in their hearts.

CHAPTER VI

LINCOLN'S KENTUCKY

The Kentucky which Abraham Lincoln knew was limited in area. It comprised parts of three counties—Hardin, Nelson and a little of Washington. The removal to Knob Creek from Nolin turned the face of the Lincoln family toward the nearer counties in the edge of the Blue Grass. Both Thomas and Nancy had lived in Washington County, and she had lived in Mercer, and they had friends in Nelson and their friends were near at hand. The four villages, all county-seats, which Abraham Lincoln is likely to have visited in his childhood are Elizabethtown, Bardstown, Harrodsburg and Springfield. He probably did not go many times to any one of them. However, county court day was and is a notable day in Kentucky county-seats. The business of the court is a minor though a genuine interest. The event has commercial and social importance. Thomas Lincoln was a man too socially inclined not to visit the county-seats within easy reach on monthly court days, and swap a story or a horse with some distant acquaintance.

When Abraham was old enough to stick on behind his father, he doubtless sometimes rode with him to some of these gatherings. The primitive log court-house in the middle of the huddled little town must have seemed to him a great building, and the village itself a city. The crowd that moved around the court-house square and shuffled in and out of the court room must have impressed him deeply. The boy who is reared in isolation and emerges now and then to behold on one acre of land more people than he knew existed on earth, has a new vision

of the significance of collective humanity and of social psychology.

The life of the pioneer in Lincoln's boyhood was one of approach to isolation. Distances were great and houses were far apart. The settlements were small, and even the cities were villages. In 1800 Pittsburgh had only 1,565 inhabitants; Lexington, the metropolis of the new region, had 1,797, of whom 439 were slaves; Frankfort had 628 including 260 slaves; and Nashville 355, of whom 141 were slaves. The county-seat towns had only a court-house, a jail, a blacksmith shop, one or more primitive log taverns, two or three stores and perhaps a dozen or a score of cabins.

Of the strong individualism of the pioneer Senator Beveridge writes:

> These American backwoodsmen, as described by contemporary writers who studied them personally, pushed beyond the inhabited districts to get land and make homes more easily. This was their underlying purpose; but a fierce individualism, impatient even of those light and vague social restraints which the existence of near-by neighbors creates, was a sharper spur. Through both these motives, too, ran the spirit of mingled lawlessness and adventure. The physical surroundings of the backswoodsman nourished the non-social elements in his character. The log cabin built, the surrounding patch of clearing made, the seed planted for a crop of cereals only large enough for their household's need—these almost ended the backwoodsman's agricultural activities, and the habits of regular industry which farming requires.*

But the Kentucky pioneers were also social and gregarious. They wanted plenty of room, and the usages of society sat lightly on them, but they sought opportunity for friendly association; and their large family connections, widened by intermarriage, gave to kinship the basis of a strong bond of attachment.

Kentucky was originally the western end of Virginia's west-

**Life of John Marshall,* i, p. 29.

ernmost county of Fincastle. In December, 1776, Kentucky County was divided from Fincastle, and formed into a separate county, having its county-seat at Harrodsburg. About November 1, 1780, this county was divided into three,—Jefferson, Lincoln and Fayette. Kentucky was admitted to the Union as a state June 1, 1792. By this time there were fourteen counties, and their number grew. Washington was formed in 1792, and in the same year the legislature erected Hardin County. Both of these had formerly been parts of Nelson, and, prior to that, parts of Jefferson. Hardin County as originally formed contained not only its present territory but that included in twelve other counties in whole or in part. That is why one must search in several different county-seats for records relating to the same piece of land.

Kentucky was a land of conflicting land titles. Virginia sold her public land with no official survey. A fee was paid for the privilege of "taking up" a given number of acres, and a warrant was issued, directed to the surveyors to measure off that amount of land and certify it to the land office as satisfying the conditions of the warrant. This left the owner of the warrant at liberty to select any land which he might find, and have it surveyed and entered as his. Professor Shaler says: "To this day one can, if he please to pay the costs, patent any land that lies in Kentucky, and repeat the same process on the same area each year."

There would appear to be no good reason why any man who desires it should not obtain a patent to the court-house in Louisville or the race track at Lexington. He might have some difficulty in proving that his claim was prior to that of the occupants or others, but his patent would give him title against any subsequent adventurer.

At this moment, as Professor Shaler again informs us, there are hundreds of thousands of acres of land in Kentucky that have never been patented and on which no taxes are collected.

The old surveys did not always join. On the other hand, they often overlapped.

The advantages of the Virginia plan were large. The plan virtually authorized any man who paid a moderate fee to go out and find his land and send in a description of it, and feel assured that he could hold it if his claim was a good one. It facilitated rapid settlement of the new territory. Kentucky would have developed much more slowly had Virginia held her land off the market until it was officially surveyed and divided.

But on the other hand, the disadvantages were grave. To this day lawsuits abound that have their origin in these overlapping surveys.

Twice at least, on Nolin Creek and on Knob Creek, Thomas Lincoln paid money for farms and was later sued as a trespasser by the owners of large tracts inclusive of his small holdings.

Thomas Lincoln knew that in Indiana, just across the Ohio, it was not thus. There the land was surveyed by the United States Government into sections a mile square, and these sections were divided into four farms of one hundred and sixty acres each. A patent from the government meant a guarantee of possession, and not the probability of a lawsuit.

Abraham Lincoln, therefore, in giving his father's reasons for leaving Kentucky, mentioned prominently among them the uncertainty of land titles in Kentucky. In the light of preceding chapters, for the first time we know what Thomas Lincoln had suffered from overlapping titles in Kentucky.

The Kentucky of Lincoln's childhood was haunted by the shuddering fear of savages. We who look back more than a hundred years and have before us the map of the country, know that before 1800 Kentucky, which was a common hunting-ground for many tribes but the home of none, had been permanently cleared of resident hostile Indian tribes, but the early settlers did not know this. To them the forests were possible hiding-places for innumerable ferocious savages, pushed back, indeed,

by the advancing pressure of immigration, but never an impossible distance away, and in number overwhelming as compared with any possible number of white men in any one neighborhood. There were frequent attacks and some bloody battles. The fear of Indians continued long after there was any need of it and boys were brought up on Indian stories. Often in his childhood Abraham heard the story of how his grandfather was killed, and how his father, Thomas, then a little child, had been with him at the time.

This story and others like it were told by the fire at night. Whenever strangers stayed over night in the Lincoln cabin, Indian stories were exchanged. Abraham heard this and other tales of murdering and scalping. The forest, infested with savages, never an impossible distance removed, had its marked and permanent influence upon the life of the boy.

The Durrett Collection has an original list, dated March 10, 1795, of a popular subscription to pay for scalps of Indians killed near Louisville, and along the road to Shepherdsville, a road familiar to the Lincolns. The last Indian battle was long past; but the fear of savages remained, and in that year there were alarms in many counties of Kentucky.

Lincoln's Kentucky was in the hills, but not in the mountains. It bordered hard on the Blue Grass, but was not of it. Geographically and socially he was of the highlands.

He saw almost nothing of slavery in his own childhood. Herndon says there were not fifty negroes in Hardin County at the time of Lincoln's birth. This is a mistake; there were several hundred negroes there.* In 1816, the year of Lincoln's removal, 1,238 slaves were listed on the tax lists of Hardin County. Herndon's estimate would have been more nearly correct if he had multiplied it by 24. Washington County in 1811 had 974

*In *The Paternity of Abraham Lincoln* I have cited the very interesting Hardin County Case, which went up to the Supreme Court, of Enlaws Heirs vs. Enlaws Executors, in which a slave woman named Nancy figured prominently.

negroes above sixteen years of age, perhaps a total population of 1,500 negroes, in a county with 1,827 white males above twenty-one. Here was nearly a slave to each possible male owner. Still, these slaves were not owned by the immediate neighbors of the Lincolns. If Lincoln on any childhood visit to friends in Washington County saw anything of slavery, he saw it in its mildest form.

The Kentucky of Lincoln's childhood was agitated by anti-slavery discussions. Slavery existed in that state when it was a county of Virginia, and already had its slaves when it became a state. Washington, Hamilton, Jefferson, Franklin, Adams, Madison and Monroe all lamented the existence of slavery in America and many hoped for its gradual decrease and ultimate abolition. When a Constitutional Convention was called in Kentucky in 1792, a movement to prohibit slavery within the bounds of that state began. This movement* was led by Reverend David Rice, the father of Presbyterianism in the West. He moved from Virginia in 1783, and was a leader in the organization of churches and in advancing the causes of education and of freedom. Just before the Constitutional Convention was called, he issued a pamphlet, entitled *Slavery Inconsistent with Justice and Good Policy*. He spoke freely of slavery's infringement of personal rights; of the degradation which it brought to womanhood; of its deprivation of religious and moral instruction; of its violent separation of families; of the encouragement which it gave to idleness and vice, particularly among young men; of the comparative unproductiveness of slave property and of the growing danger of servile insurrection. He answered the familiar arguments from Scripture in favor of slavery, and proposed that the coming convention should forever end slavery in Kentucky. He himself was a delegate to the Convention, and taking the floor he advocated abolition in a notable address. He said:

Holding men in slavery is the national vice of Virginia, and

*See *The Anti-Slavery Movement in Kentucky Prior to 1850*, by Asa Earl Martin. Published by the Filson Club, 1918.

while a part of that state, we were partakers of the guilt. As a separate state we are just now come to the birth; and it depends on our free choice whether we shall be born in this sin, or innocent of it.

Of the forty-five members of this Convention, seven were ministers. There were three Presbyterians, three Baptists and one Methodist. To their lasting honor be it recorded that all seven voted against slavery. Among them was Reverend John Bailey, the Baptist preacher who married Henry Sparrow and Lucy Hanks.

At that time there were only fifteen thousand slaves in Kentucky, and few people realized the seriousness of the evil which slavery entailed; but foremost of those who did realize the evil and courageously oppose it were the ministers.

The Severns Valley Church, the first Baptist Church of Elizabethtown, to which the Bush family belonged, and which Thomas and Nancy Lincoln probably attended while living in Elizabethtown, has the following of record:

January 23, 1796. *Quare.* is slavery oppression or not? The quare being taken up was answered in the affirmative; it was oppression.

Feb. 27, 1796. Question. Can we as a Church have fellowship with those that hold the righteousness of perpetual slavery? It was answered in the affirmative; that we could not.

April, 1796. Resolved that whereas the Church having taken into consideration Respecting Slavery that if any member has got Slaves or shall purchase hereafter any Slaves shall have the time that they shall serve to make satisfaction for his or her raising or purchase to his or her Master or Mistress either in the Church or belonging to any other provided there should not be a sufficiency of Brethren that shall be deemed by the Church to be Judges of the business but if Said Slaves shall not behave himself as a dutiful servant ought to do, that the sd Master or Mistress Shall dispose of Sd disobedient Slaves as they may judge expedient themselves."

The Nolin Church was separated from the Severns Valley Church on March 13, 1803. Already there had been separate

preaching appointments, but one organization. From that date there were two organizations, both under the pastoral care of Reverend Josiah Dodge.

While Thomas and Nancy doubtless rode around to monthly preaching appointments when the weather was favorable, and did a great deal of their visiting of friends on these various pilgrimages, Thomas, certainly, and Nancy almost as certainly, had a local church membership; for when Thomas joined the Little Pigeon Baptist Church in Indiana, he brought his letter from Kentucky. Unfortunately, the record does not name the local church which issued the letter. To what church did Thomas and Nancy belong?

It can hardly have been the Severns Valley Church, for their residence in Elizabethtown was brief; moreover, the records of this church are extant and their names do not appear on the roll. Neither was it probably the Nolin Church. They must have attended services there, but this church was located four miles from the Sinking Spring farm, and farther from the Knob Creek farm. The nearest church to the Sinking Spring farm was the South Fork Baptist Church, organized in 1804. Its oldest records are in existence* and do not show the names of Thomas and Nancy Lincoln as members. At the time Thomas and Nancy established their home on Sinking Spring farm, the South Fork Church was torn by dissensions over slavery. The records show that on the third Saturday in July, 1808, just about the time the Lincolns were removing to this locality, fifteen members—a large section of the church—were "rent off from the Church on account of slavery." Of these fifteen were Isaac Friend and Jesse Friend.† The church to which this anti-slavery contingent apparently transferred their membership was the Little Mount Church, about three miles eastwardly of

*They are in possession of Honorable Otis M. Mather, of Hodgenville, one of the most reliable of my correspondents, from whom I have much valuable material on early Hardin County.

†Caleb Hazel was a member, and did not withdraw in the slavery dissension.

Hodgenville, toward Muldraugh's Hill. The records of this church are not known to exist. The organization and building have both disappeared. But we know that the Friends became members of the Little Mount Church. A bequest of Charles Friend, father of Dennis Hanks, preserved the cemetery, and there are inscribed stones as early as 1812, and others doubtless older. This was a reasonably convenient church for the Lincolns while living on the Sinking Spring farm, and much the most convenient for them while living at Knob Creek. There was a meeting-house on Knob Creek, with regular or occasional preaching, but, so far as I have been able to learn, no church organization. I am confident, therefore, that the church home of the Lincolns was the Little Mount Church, a Primitive Baptist anti-slavery Church; and that in its little graveyard Abraham Lincoln's little brother Thomas was buried.

In the first quarter of the nineteenth century the churches somewhat abated their opposition to slavery. The question was a divisive one, and its discussion was attended with increasing difficulty. The Methodist Church in 1804 ceased to memorialize legislatures for the abolition of slavery; and in 1808, it went further by removing all restrictions against its members' holding slaves. The Presbyterians, too, became less certain that it was advisably to "disturb the peace of Zion" by agitation of this subject. The agitation never died down; but it was the Baptists who formed the first anti-slavery body in Kentucky—the Kentucky Abolition Society, composed largely of members of the "Baptized Licking-Locust Association, Friends of Humanity," but embracing also some members of other communions.

Agitation against slavery in Kentucky measurably subsided. Henry Clay, who vigorously opposed slavery in 1799, ceased to stand strongly against it. Churches wearied of divisive controversy and counseled peace when there was no peace. Opposition to slavery did not wholly disappear; and in time it broke forth with new vigor in the preaching of John G. Fee, the fearless orations of Cassius M. Clay, and in the movement which led to the

establishment of Berea College. There was some prospect that if slavery was let alone in Kentucky, it would break down of its own weight; and the opinion of Professor Shaler is familiar—that "if there had been no external pressure against slavery, there still would have been a progressive elimination of the slave element from the population, by emancipation on the soil, by the sale of slaves to the planters of the Southern States, and by their colonization in foreign parts."

The question was alive in the first decade of the nineteenth century, and the Lincoln family can not have escaped the discussion of it.

The Kentucky of Lincoln's experience was a religious community. The Hodgenville community was a Baptist settlement. Preaching services were held monthly, and the Lincolns doubtless attended their own and other church services from the time that Abraham had to be taken in his mother's arms.*

Dennis Hanks wrote truthfully to William H. Herndon: "William, I have seen a book which states Lincoln was a Quaker. I say this is a mistake they was Baptist."†

I, who rode through these mountains in later years, with my wardrobe in one saddle-bag and my library in the other, should like to pay my tribute of respect to the mountain doctors and the mountain preachers, hard-riding, sturdy ministers to men's bodies and souls. There was much in the religion of the backwoods which personally I did not enjoy, and much in the character of its preaching which was foreign to my own training and belief; but increasingly as I lived there I respected the men who rode their circuits and preached the vehement evangel of the hill country.

The religion of the Kentucky hills was boisterous and emotional. The doctrine was a rigid predestinarianism. Hell fire was preached with great fervor. Camp-meetings were held in

*Of the religous conditions of Lincoln's childhood and subsequent years I have treated fully in *The Soul of Abraham Lincoln.*

†This letter bears date of April 2, 1866. The original is in the Gunsaulus Collection in the Library of the University of Chicago.

the autumn, and were wide-reaching in their fervor and spiritual results. A religion less gentle or more refined would not have served so well the rude conditions of the frontier.

The doctrine of hell fire as the pioneer preachers proclaimed it was a very wholesome one; nothing less virile would have met the requirements of the situation. But it was preached for the admonition of the living, and held with all possible charity for the dead. The doctrine of predestination helped in the application of a broader charity than might otherwise have been possible. When I was preaching in the mountains of Kentucky, and had to share with a primitive Baptist preacher the funeral of a man killed in a drunken brawl, I always felt that his theology fitted the requirements of the situation quite as well as my own. I preached very little about hell, but these older men preached it mercilessly for the living and found great comfort for the dead in the sovereign grace of God. If this dead man was one whom God had chosen as of his elect, nothing could frustrate his grace. Only incidentally was it a matter of this man's repentance, but there was time for that. Between the time the bullet left the gun and the time it reached his heart, if he truly repented, that was time enough for God. What right had we to limit the pardoning grace of God? As for the living, let them take warning from this tragic ending of this, which might have been a useful life. As for the dead, let us believe that:

> Between the saddle and the ground,
> He pardon sought and pardon found.

The Methodists, and even the Disciples, had got into Hardin County in Lincoln's time, and while the Lincoln household was consistently Baptist, it was aware of the general influence upon the life of the community of these other denominations. The Little Mount Church was conveniently near; there was a meeting-house on Knob Creek; and the monthly meetings were events of social as well as religious importance.

The period of the Revolutionary War was one of great diffi-

culty for all American churches; and was followed by a number of years in which godlessness, infidelity and immorality were rife. The westward movement did not of itself improve the moral tone of the period. Many religious people moved west, and some of them transported their religion with them. Some Virginia churches were seriously weakened by the migration to Kentucky; and many of the ministers, especially the young, hardy and adventurous, joined in the migration. But the conditions of pioneer life were hard upon the institutions of organized religion. Imlay wrote in 1792:

> There is a number of people who have so long been in the custom of moving, farther and farther back as the country becomes settled, for the sake of hunting, and what they call range for their cattle . . . that they seem unqualified for any other life.*

Francis Bailey, in 1797, described the people of the migratory sort as "a race of people rough in their manners, impatient of restraint, and of an independent spirit, who are taught to look on all men as their equals, and no further worthy of respect than their conduct deserves."†

For several years, life on the frontier was rude and largely irreligious. But it was not wholly so in the period of Lincoln's boyhood. In 1800, a great revival of religion spread over the settlements and continued with intervals of partial cessation for a half-dozen years. Baptists, Methodists and Presbyterians joined in movements of far-reaching significance; and other denominations were born. The Cumberland Presbyterians, the "New Lights," the Disciples of Christ and the Shakers, all these came into being in Kentucky at about this time.

The revival was accompanied by physical exercises, by "fall-

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*Imlay: *Topographical Description of the Western Territory of North America,* London, 1792, p. 149.

†Francis Bailey: *Journal of a Tour in the Unsettled Parts of North America, 1796-1797,* (London, 1856), p. 217. Theodore Roosevelt's *The Winning of the West,* contains an excellent description of social and religious life on the frontier.

ing," "the jerks" and by dancing and leaping. The camp-meeting came into existence; and its influence was wide-spread.

The Baptist Church was always strong in Kentucky. In 1800 there were in that new commonwealth one hundred six churches, with a total membership of five thousand. The Methodists were much fewer in number; but their system of circuits gave them a notable advantage as propagandists of their faith, and they rode, singing and shouting, far back into the wilderness.

The great revival was preceded by a period of depression, out of which came a deepening earnestness. Then came the message of the preachers, sternly rebuking sin and worldliness, portraying the terrors of an endless hell, and calling on men to repent and believe the Gospel.

People flocked together wherever religious interest was aroused. Isolated, and starved for social contacts, they sought out the places where meetings were announced; and when conviction came, it came with mighty power. Those people who went to camp-meetings to scoff were not infrequently taken with "jerks" and found no relief till they cried out in agony of spirit for forgiveness and peace. Drunkards, profligate men and women, and people notorious for vicious habits were seized with conviction and cried out for mercy.

The Baptist churches doubled their membership. The Methodists in a single year, 1801, within the bounds of the Western Conference, added 3,250 members, and in the following year, 1802, they added 3,000 more.

When Thomas Lincoln and Nancy Hanks were married in 1806 the intensity of this revival had abated and a reaction set in. But the wilderness had been evangelized; and a new spirit of reverence and religious earnestness was there.

The Kentucky of Lincoln's childhood was young. The men and women who had come over the wilderness road were largely young people, strong, resolute, courageous and full of the spirit of adventure. A majority of them had come from Virginia; and

there was continuous travel back and forth through Cumberland Gap, keeping the new state in touch with the mother-state. But the wilderness population had a life of its own, independent, self-contained and virile.

Lincoln's Kentucky was a horse-racing, whisky-drinking community, with poverty as a check upon great excess in either gaming or drinking. There is record of a member of the Baptist Church in Elizabethtown being expelled for riding around the racetrack, which shows how sternly horse-racing was fought by the religious interests. But every one who owned anything owned a horse, and there were few better judges of horse-flesh than the preachers.*

Lincoln's Kentucky was a land of superstition. The backwoods abounded in superstitions. Few people now are free from superstition in some form, and in Kentucky, in that day, no one pretended to be free from it.† It was a region in which witches were understood to exist; a land of "haunts" and ghosts, and omens and warnings and "bad signs." Lincoln grew up amid superstition from which none of his neighbors was free. He inherited some of these superstitions and never outgrew them.

Not only did Lincoln spend his childhood in the midst of these primitive conditions, but he was in all essentials a part of his environment. He had in him dormant qualities which were

*I did my first preaching in the hills of Kentucky and Tennessee and write with a very tender feeling for a good horse. I have never yet convinced myself that there is special virtue in taking other people's dust.

†Reference may be made to *Kentucky Superstitions,* by Daniel Lindsey Thomas, Ph.D., late Professor of English at Center College, Danville, Kentucky, and President of the Kentucky Branch of the Folk-Lore Society; and, Lucy Blayney Thomas, M. D., a teacher at Nashville, Tennessee. This volume contains nearly four thousand "superstitions" that have been located in Kentucky—3954, to be exact. Not all of the instances cited deserve to be called superstitions, and not all by any means are distinctive of Kentucky. But the present author has found the greater part of these superstitions in various parts of Kentucky, and many of them elsewhere. The collection of such a body of what, under any possible flexibility of interpretation, may be called superstitions is arresting. Moreover, all these are given as now current. Most of them, and perhaps some others, were current in primitive days.

later to lift him above these conditions, but he was not in his childhood superior to the life around him. He was to the manner born. Later he came to think meanly of his poverty-stricken youth; but at the time his was the life of a normal backwoods boy, and he was the logical product of the life in the midst of which he lived.

CHAPTER VII

LINCOLN'S BOYHOOD
1816-1830

THE seven years of Lincoln's childhood belong to Kentucky. Twice seven were the years of his boyhood in Indiana.

Abraham Lincoln appears to have inherited from his father his life-long interest in waterways. Thomas Lincoln made one or more trips to New Orleans. On one of these journeys he was in the employ of Isaac Bush; and it is said that Isaac's intimate knowledge of Thomas stood the latter in good stead some years later when Thomas Lincoln returned to Kentucky and laid suit to the hand of Sarah Bush Johnston; her male relatives favored the match. Having learned how to build and navigate a flat-boat, Thomas Lincoln built one for himself in the fall of 1816, and launched it upon the waters of the Rolling Fork of Salt River, near the mouth of Knob Creek. The Rolling Fork has long been noted for its distilleries. Thomas Lincoln was no drunkard, neither was he a total abstainer. He procured four hundred gallons of corn whisky, and loaded it upon the flat-boat with his tools and the greater part of his household goods. He floated safely down Salt River to the Ohio, but on the larger stream he suffered shipwreck. His home-made craft capsized, and landed his cargo in the river. Recovering his tools, and most of his whisky, he continued his journey to Thompson's Ferry in Perry County, Indiana. There he left his property in the care of a settler named Posey, and set forth on foot to discover a site for a home. He had some acquaintance with a man named Thomas Carter who lived on Pigeon Creek, and he inquired the way to Carter's house.

The spot which Thomas Lincoln selected for a home is a slight elevation within the bounds of the present village of Lincoln City. The public school now stands immediately adjacent to the site of his cabin.*

The soil was reasonably fertile, but it lacked a good well. The land was heavily timbered. Thomas Lincoln selected his farm, marked its corners by chopping and piling some brush, and, warned by his experiences in titles in Kentucky, he walked to Vincennes and filed his claim.†

At the time the Lincoln family moved to this farm, there were only eight other settlers in the vicinity. Gentryville, of which town we hear much in the story of the boyhood of Lincoln, did not as yet exist. The new home was in the heart of the virgin forest, eighteen miles from Thompson's Ferry, where Lincoln had landed his mixed cargo and stored it in the home of Posey. Thomas Lincoln walked back from Vincennes to Knob Creek, and informed the family of his selection of a site for a home. His title, when he paid up, would be from the Government of the United States, with no more lawsuits about ownership or conflict of claims.

The journey from Knob Creek to Spencer County, Indiana, is not a long one. As traveled through the woods, and with detours for hills and fords, it was less than a hundred miles. If the family spent their first night with relatives near Elizabethtown, they had not more than three or four additional nights to spend upon the way. The journey can not have been a very

*The cabin was standing within the memory of men now living. After the house disappeared the site was marked by a cedar tree. A tablet now occupies the site of the permanent Lincoln home. It is probable that the school will be removed, and the home site transformed into a park by the State of Indiana.

†The entry of the land was made a year later, on October 15, 1817. The land is the Southwest Quarter of Section 32, Township 4, South of Range 5 west, in Spencer County, Indiana. He subsequently relinquished his claim upon the east half of this quarter-section, and paid for the remaining eighty acres. The land was purchased under the "Two dollar act" and the patent was not issued until June 6, 1827. It was signed by John Quincy Adams as President and George Graham as Commissioner of the General Land Office.

hard one. Thomas and Nancy each rode a horse, and each one had a child and a bundle of bedding and of household belongings upon the horse with the rider. Abraham was seven; Sarah was nine. There had been a little son Thomas, two years younger than Abraham, but he died in infancy. Four persons made the company. What livestock they had other than horses is not known, but it is to be presumed that there were one or more cows and possibly a few young hogs. Abraham and Sarah did not ride all the way. Part of the time they walked, for their own enjoyment and for the comfort of the horses.*

The family arrived at the home of Posey, where they borrowed a wagon, loaded in their additional belongings, and in due time came through the unbroken forest to what was to be for fourteen years the home of Abraham Lincoln.

Then followed what Lincoln later described as "pretty pinching times." The first winter was spent in what Dennis Hanks described as a "half-faced camp." It was a shed of poles, with the front facing the south, and the rear wall supported by the hill out of which room for the home had been dug. It was a cheerless place in which to spend a winter;† but there was no lack of firewood, and the supply of corn-bread and bacon held out till spring.

This poor shed was only the temporary home of the family,

*Lamon opines that Lincoln borrowed the horses from his brother-in-law, Ralph Crume; but Thomas Lincoln was the owner of four horses in 1816, and also of cows and other livestock.

†It is interesting to note and record that, as the first winter of the Lincolns in Illinois was "the winter of the deep snow" with its attendant hardship to man and beast, and its pathetic slaughter of wild game, the year of their removal from Kentucky to Indiana was one of severity. No records exist of the suffering of the Lincolns on account of the unusual climatic conditions of that year, but throughout the country it was a season of violent changes. In Salem, Massachusetts, according to Perley's *Historic Storms of New England,* the weather about May twenty-third was the hottest in ten years, rising to 101 in the shade, and on June fifth it was 92; but next morning it was 43, a drop of 49 degrees in one night, and there were snow flurries in parts of Massachusetts. On June seventh, there was snow in the suburbs of Boston, and a foot or more of snow fell in Williamstown. On June twenty-second and twenty-fourth, the thermometer ranged from 93 to 101 in Salem, and then came more cold weather. We have no such detailed record of the weather in Kentucky, but we know that throughout the country the year 1816 was remembered as "eighteen-hundred-and-froze-to-death."

though it appears to have been kept somewhat steadily in use. The reports of the Lincolns to their Kentucky kinsfolk can not have been very depressing, for there soon followed an exodus of Sparrows and Hankses to the new land of promise. When the Lincolns moved into their permanent home, Thomas and Elizabeth Sparrow came on and occupied the camp until they had a home ready; and afterward there came Levi Hall and Nancy his wife, and there were other families moving from Kentucky who successively rejoiced in the poor shelter of the half-faced camp.

The home which Thomas Lincoln built was of hewn logs and about eighteen feet square. It had a low loft reached by means of pins driven into the logs in the corner. The earth was its floor and it had neither window nor door at the beginning. These luxuries came later.

Game was abundant, and the settlers were not too far from their former homes in Kentucky nor from the river to procure corn until they could raise some of their own. Wheat was scarce in the beginning, and it was long before it became plenty; but there was no lack of corn-bread.

The first great sorrow in the life of Abraham Lincoln occurred two years after the removal of the family to Indiana. The "milk-sick" visited the settlement, and claimed a number of victims. Thomas and Elizabeth Sparrow, who had been Nancy's foster parents, died. Levi and Nancy Hall also died. Thomas Lincoln sawed out lumber for their coffins, and gave them decent burial according to the standards of the time and place. A few days later Nancy Hanks Lincoln died. The date of her death was October 5, 1818. Again Thomas, aided by Abraham, brought the whip-saw into requisition, and the mother of the future president was laid to rest beside the Sparrows and the Halls.*

*The land which includes the cemetery where the body of Abraham Lincoln's mother is buried is now a state park. The situation is beautiful, and the grave is well marked and receives adequate care. The knoll where

Of the last sickness of Lincoln's mother, we have one testimony from an eye-witness, as it was given in Herndon:

She struggled on, day by day, a good Christian woman, and died on the seventh day after she was taken sick. Abe and his sister Sarah waited on their mother, and did the little jobs and errands required by them. There was no physician nearer than thirty-five miles. The mother knew she was going to die, and called the children to her bedside. She was very weak, and the children leaned over while she gave her last messages. Placing her feeble hand on little Abe's head, she told him to be kind and good to his father and sister; to both she said, Be good to one another, expressing a hope that they might live, as they had been taught by her, to love their kindred and worship God.*

According to the custom of Kentucky Baptists then and now, the burial of these early settlers in the Pigeon Creek neighborhood was not accompanied by funeral services.† Not simply the absence of ministers but a distinct and well established custom, still persisting, postponed the funeral for several months. There was nothing unusual about the delay in the funeral of Mrs. Lincoln.

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the grave is located is sightly, and the surroundings are appropriate, but the area owned by the state should be increased, and the approach improved. The first marker above the grave of Lincoln's mother was erected by local subscription, headed by Joseph D. Armstrong, as stated in a paper by his daughter, Miss Ida D. Armstrong of Rockport, Indiana, before the Southwestern Indiana Historical Society, October, 1923. When this stone was removed for a larger one, the little marker was broken up and carried away by relic hunters. The second marker, which now stands at the foot of the grave, was erected in 1879, the gift of Clement Studebaker, Sr., of South Bend. The present monument was dedicated October 1, 1902. In 1907 the property was transferred to the State of Indiana. A suitable iron fence was erected around the graves of Nancy Hanks Lincoln and the four relatives who lie buried with her. The five graves are not all in one row, but are in one row of three graves and another of two. Soil where a grave has been dug and filled can rarely, if ever, be replaced in such manner as to mislead an experienced grave-digger who has occasion to remove the upper layers or to re-excavate the grave. The erection of the fence and the laying of a walk compelled such disturbance of the top layers of soil. The three graves in one row are those of Nancy Hanks Lincoln and her foster parents. Thomas and Elizabeth Hanks Sparrow; the two graves at the foot of these three are those of Nancy's aunt, Nancy Hanks Hall and her husband, Levi Hall.

*Herndon's *Lincoln*, 1st ed., p. 27.

†The subject on which so many writers have gone astray has been considered at length in *The Soul of Abraham Lincoln*. Reference to that book makes extended treatment of the subject here unnecessary.

Some months after the death of Nancy Hanks, a funeral service was held. Reverend David Elkins,* a Baptist preacher from Kentucky, preached, and probably included the Halls and Sparrows and other deceased neighbors in the same funeral discourse.

A little more than a year after the death of his first wife, Thomas Lincoln went back to Elizabethtown, and courted Sarah Bush Johnston, whom he had known before her first marriage. She was the widow of Daniel Johnston, jailer of Hardin County.†

Thomas Lincoln and Sarah Bush Johnston were married in Elizabethtown, Kentucky, December 2, 1819. Although she was a poor widow, with three children and in debt, she was not without a substantial marriage portion. She had bed-clothes

*Reverend David Elkins, who preached the funeral sermon at the grave of Abraham Lincoln's mother, Nancy Hanks Lincoln, was born in South Carolina, and served as a private in the Second South Carolina Militia in the War of 1812. His enlistment was October 17, 1814, and his discharge, March 9, 1815. He was then a resident of the Richland district, South Carolina, and later migrated to Kentucky. He appears in Spencer's *History of Kentucky Baptists,* first as minister of Good Hope Church in Taylor County. About 1820 he united with the Separate Baptists of Nolynn (Nolin) Association. These were anti-slavery. Spencer says:

"He was a man of extraordinary natural intellect, but was uncultivated, being barely able to read. He was extremely poor as to this world's goods, and what was worse, he was very indolent and slovenly in his dress. Yet it pleased the Lord to use him to good account, especially in the early days of his ministry. . . . His reputation was somewhat sullied in his later years, perhaps from too free use of strong drink."

He was minister in Indiana of the Rock Lick church and later of the Spice Valley Baptist Church. He removed to Lawrence County in the 'forties, and died in 1857, and is buried in a nearly abandoned cemetery three miles west of Mitchell. Citizens of that town are proposing to erect a monument over his grave, which now has only the government marker with the inscription, "David Elkins, 2nd South Carolina Militia, War of 1812."

†The story is told that when Thomas Lincoln proposed to Sarah Bush Johnston she said to him that she could not accept immediately, because she was in debt. He obtained a list of her creditors, paid the bills, produced the receipts for her inspection and renewed his proposal. She accepted. This story is not new; but I should like to add that members of the Bush family, including S. H. Bush, an aged member of the Elizabethtown bar, a former Confederate soldier, and a nephew of Sarah Bush, related the story to me in detail. The Bush family show no sensitiveness concerning the story, but tell it rather with pride that she married a man of sufficient resource and resolution to meet an emergency of that kind. The Hardin County records show that Daniel Johnston left her poor. She did better in her second marriage than in her first.

and cooking utensils and furniture such as the humble home on Pigeon Creek had never known. Thomas Lincoln borrowed from his brother-in-law, Ralph Crume,* a four-horse wagon, into which Thomas loaded his bride, her three children and her belongings, and made his return journey to Spencer County. In due time they arrived, and the new mother took up her responsibilities.

What Sarah Bush Lincoln found on her arrival may or may not have surprised her. She knew the lot of pioneers, and there is no reason to suppose that Thomas Lincoln had attempted to deceive her. At the same time she must have felt some contrast between his readiness in Elizabethtown to produce money and pay off her small indebtedness and the manifest poverty of the home as she found it. The cabin was windowless and floorless, and the furniture was of the most primitive sort. There were two unkempt children, Sarah, aged twelve and Abraham aged ten. There was yet another, for Dennis Hanks, since the death of the Sparrows, lived with the Lincolns.

There was call for a gourd of soft soap, and plenty of water. The children were scrubbed and better clad. The home took on new character at once. Thomas Lincoln had to saw out lumber for a floor, and plane the boards. He bought lime and mixed whitewash, and used it where Sarah directed. Dennis Hanks, who remembered her coming and the revolution which it wrought, said that Aunt Sarah "certainly had faculty." She transformed the home of the cheerless widower and his two motherless children into a spot of pleasant associations and happy memories. Her own three children, John, Sarah and Matilda, lived in perfect accord with the children already there. It was a good day for Abraham Lincoln and the world that brought Sarah Bush Johnston to the rude cabin of Thomas Lincoln. It was equally a good day for Sarah and her fatherless children.

Of Sarah Bush, her granddaughter, Mrs. Harriet Chapman,

*It is the loan of Crume's wagon to meet this matrimonial emergency which careless biographers have confused with the original migration.

daughter of Dennis Hanks, wrote: "My grandmother is a very tall woman, straight as an Indian, and was, when I first remember her, very handsome, sprightly, talkative and proud. She wore her hair curled till gray; is kind-hearted and very charitable, and also very industrious."

Herndon spent a day with her in 1865, and was much impressed by her character and her love for her stepson, Abraham. To this visit we owe some of our best and most authentic traditions of Lincoln's boyhood.

The Southern Indiana of Lincoln's boyhood was a transplanted section of Kentucky. The social life, the religious environment, the superstitions, the schools, were all of the same sort with which the family was familiar. Moreover, it was not so far away as to forbid occasional return, and more frequent visits from old neighbors as they came over the river and toward the West, looking for better locations than those they had possessed in Kentucky. The urge that was in the patriarch Abraham, sending him forth not knowing whither he went, was in the blood of the American pioneer.

Abraham Lincoln attended school in Indiana. His first teacher was Andrew Crawford, his second a man named Sweeney, and his third was Azel W. Dorsey. The school which Lincoln attended was one and one-fourth miles from the home. Like the Kentucky schools, it was a "blab" school.* The system of silent study was beginning to be recognized, but how was the teacher to know that a boy was studying unless the boy kept repeating his lesson aloud as he studied? And how was he to be persuaded to continue his industrious application to his spelling book unless the teacher passed about the room, whip in hand, and gently or otherwise whipped those who were silent?

Abraham's schoolmates in after years remembered that he had

*The blab schools had not passed entirely out of Southern Indiana when George Cary Eggleston had the experiences which furnished his brother Edward Eggleston the material for his *Hoosier Schoolmaster*. This was about 1858. There were few of any other kind forty years earlier. See *The First of the Hoosiers*, by George Cary Eggleston; being reminiscences of Edward Eggleston.

been an apt pupil, eager to learn, and that he quickly surpassed his companions. His sister Sarah, who accompanied him, was also a bright pupil, of good mind, and was more industrious than her brother. For while Abraham loved books, he did not love hard work; and when study became work, he became for a time less eager for learning, and gave himself to fun.

Of Lincoln's school-days in Indiana, the most definite memories appear to be those of the school kept by Andrew Crawford. This teacher endeavored to impart not only the education contained in books, but the principles which underlie the usages of polite society. One pupil was required to go out-of-doors, and to be met at the door by another pupil who inquired his name, and then escorted him about the room, presenting him to the pupils one by one.

In his first schools Abraham used only the spelling book. It was the custom in that day for a pupil to spell the book through several times before he began to read. He knew how to spell "incomprehensibility," a "word of eight syllables, accented on the sixth" long before he could read that interesting statement that "Ann can spin flax." At first he used Dillworth's Speller, then Webster's *Old Blueback*. After long and faithful use of the speller, he learned to use the reader, and in time became familiar with Murray's English Reader, which he believed to have been the best text-book ever supplied to an American boy. Having used it as a text-book, I am inclined to agree with him.

The whole of his schooling, as he has informed us, was less than a year. What he has told and what is otherwise known of his teachers has caused some authors to question whether his teaching was of any considerable value to him; whether, like George Bernard Shaw, he was not one of those whose education was interrupted by his schooling. But I know the kind of schools Lincoln attended, and in spite of their grave limitations I have a high sense of their value. Even the discipline of those schools, severe as it was, and combining "lickin' and l'arnin'" with a liberal allowance for the licking, was not without its worth. If

the teachers were ignorant, so were the pupils and their parents; if the teacher could cipher to the rule of three, that was quite as far as most of the pupils had any occasion to go. The schoolhouses were bare, log buildings, with the cracks unchinked. They were built upon slopes high enough at one end for hogs to rest under the floor, and fill the place with fleas,—a situation only partly remedied by the pennyroyal which the pupils brought in by the armful and tramped upon in the aisle. The benches were of puncheon and had no backs, and it was thought a needless concession to the love of luxury to saw off the legs where they projected upward through the surface of the seat. But the children departed from those schools a little less ignorant than they were when they entered.

The books that Lincoln read and re-read in his boyhood had a marked influence upon his life. There was the Bible, first of all, the basis of his pure literary style, and the foundation of his system of righteousness expressed in law. There were *Pilgrim's Progress* and Æsop's *Fables*. There was Weems' *Life of Washington,* at which people smile, but which did good to Abraham Lincoln and many another lad. There was *Robinson Crusoe,* and a History of the United States. If we could substitute a better *Life of Washington* and a modern History of the United States, it would be for the profit of any American boy if he were shut up with these half-dozen books and no others until he thoroughly mastered them. They were an almost ideal selection. To this short list he later added Franklin's *Autobiography* and Weems' *Life of Marion.*

It has become common to refer mirthfully to Weems' *Life of Washington,* and in truth it has no great merit as critical biography; but it is quite as good in that particular as many more pretentious works, including some Lives of Lincoln. Even the story of the cherry-tree and the little hatchet has this to be said in its favor, that such a story could not easily have come into current circulation and belief in the immediate vicinity of Washington's home if he had not borne in boyhood as in manhood the

reputation of being truthful. Lincoln read this pompous and highly colored book with none of the disdain of the modern critic. In 1861, in addressing the Senate of the State of New Jersey, he said:

May I be pardoned if, upon this occasion, I mention that away back in my childhood, the earliest days of my being able to read, I got hold of a small book, such a one as few of the younger members have ever seen—Weems' *Life of Washington.* I remember all the accounts there given of the battle-fields and struggles for the liberties of the country, and none fixed themselves upon my imagination so deeply as the struggle here at Trenton, New Jersey. The crossing of the river, the contest with the Hessians, the great hardships endured at that time, all fixed themselves on my memory more than any single Revolutionary event; and you all know, for you have all been boys, how these early impressions last longer than any others. I recollect thinking then, boy even though I was, that there must have been something more than common that these men struggled for.

Abraham Lincoln became the owner of Weems' *Life of Washington* through an accident. He borrowed the book from Josiah Crawford, a neighbor reputed to have been close-fisted. The book was placed upon a little shelf below an unchinked crack between the logs of the Lincoln home and was damaged by rain. Lincoln offered to pay for it, and had to pull fodder three days at twenty-five cents a day to purchase the book.

Crawford has been unjustly blamed for his part in this transaction. It was his right to receive compensation for the book, and seventy-five cents was a fair price, and twenty-five cents was not an oppressive wage. Abraham often worked for less. Abraham had cause to dislike Crawford, but not for his collection of an extortionate price for his damaged book. And Abraham then owned and prized the book.

Studying by the fire at night, or by the light of pine knots, and lying in the shade in the daytime with a corn pone in one hand and a book in the other, Abraham Lincoln made the ac-

SNAPSHOTS OF GENTRYVILLE

Main Street
Site of Lincoln home

Little Pigeon Church
Grave of Lincoln's sister

quaintance of a few highly desirable books, and he profited by the reading of them.

At school Abraham was a leader. He stood well in his studies. He was a good reader, an excellent speller, a good penman, and was able to compose well. Very early he had a desire to write out his opinions on many topics; and his essays attracted attention at once. He won the respect of his teachers and also of his fellow-students. His habitual and well-known fairness caused him to be chosen to decide mooted questions, and his decisions were accepted without appeal. Altogether it is an attractive young giant who emerges from our study of the conditions of Lincoln's boyhood. He was rude and uncultured; but he had a good mind, a warm heart, a love of justice and fair play, and a high sense of honor that won for him the lasting respect of those who knew him.

While Lincoln was a boy in Indiana he had two important social centers, the mill and the general store at Gentryville.* He loved to go to mill, and he loved to loaf in the country store. He liked the conversation, the discussion, the attempts to settle the problems of the universe. He participated in all this with great satisfaction to himself, and to the joy of his companions. He was a good story-teller, a clever debater, a jolly companion.

Abraham Lincoln in his mature years thought, spoke and moved slowly. He inherited on both sides the deliberate and almost lazy movement of the Kentucky hill-dweller. But in one particular he exhibited very rapid development. In his eleventh year he suddenly shot up in stature until he overtopped all his companions. This rapid growth made him tired, and he never recovered from the effort. On this abrupt change, David Turnham wrote to Herndon:

As he shot up he seemed to change in appearance and action. Although quick-witted and ready with an answer, he began to exhibit deep thoughtfulness, and so was often lost in studied re-

*I have discovered no local tradition in Gentryville that Lincoln was ever a clerk in the store there, and I do not credit the statement.

flection. We could not help noticing the strange turn in his actions. He disclosed rare timidity and sensitiveness, especially in the presence of men and women, and, although cheerful enough in the presence of the boys, he did not appear to seek our company as earnestly as before.*

Among the incidents of Lincoln's boyhood which reach us practically at first hand, and may therefore be presumed to be reliable, is one which his stepsister Matilda Johnston, later the wife of Squire Hall, related to Herndon.

When Lincoln was well grown, he undertook one autumn the clearing of a piece of woodland so far from the house that it was his custom to take his lunch and spend the day. Matilda, youngest child of Mrs. Lincoln, liked to go with him, but her mother forbade her. One morning she stole away, and slipping through the bushes, came up behind Abraham as he went, singing, to his work. She crept up behind, and with a cat-like leap, landed with one hand on each of his shoulders and her knees in the middle of his back. That trick, familiar to school-boys, enabled her to land Abraham on his back before he could turn around or in any way guard his fall. As he fell, his ax cut a wound in her ankle. He staunched the flow of blood with bits of cloth torn from his shirt and her clothing; and when she had ceased or nearly ceased crying, he asked:

" 'Tilda, what are you going to tell mother about getting hurt?"

"I'll tell her I did it with the ax," she sobbed. "That will be the truth, won't it?"

"Yes, that's the truth, 'Tilda," replied Abraham, "but it's not the whole truth. Tell the whole truth, 'Tilda, and trust your good mother for the rest."†

Incidents such as this illustrate the reasons for Abraham's popularity in his youth. He was manly, courageous, truthful, sympathetic and honest. No incident comes to us from those years that shows him in any act of meanness or dishonesty.

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*Herndon's *Lincoln*, 1st Ed., i, p. 25.
†Herndon's *Lincoln*, i, p. 34.

Some of the most interesting of the recollections of Lincoln that were given to Herndon in 1865, were those of Mrs. Allen Gentry, formerly Katie Roby. She attended school with Lincoln, and was about three or four years his junior. While she took pains to explain that they were never lovers, there was between them a boy-and-girl attachment.

She told how one day at a spelling match, when she and Lincoln were on opposite sides, she hesitated over the word "defied," not feeling sure whether to spell it with an "i" or a "y." Lincoln, seeing her hesitation, generously helped her by holding up one finger to his eye.

When Lincoln was about to sail down the Ohio River on his flat-boat, she sometimes strolled down to the river with him in the evening, and he and Katie dangled their bare feet in the water and watched the sun go down and the moon come up. On one such evening he explained to her that the sun did not really set nor the moon rise, but that the earth revolved and made these other bodies appear to move around it. Such knowledge seemed to her quite wonderful, indeed, incredible; for the people among whom Lincoln spent his youth, including the ministers, believed the earth to be flat and stationary, and the sun to move around it once in twenty-four hours. Katie never forgot the vast learning of Abraham.

She took careful account of his appearance, and it is to her we owe our best description of the Lincoln of that date.

At the end of his seventeenth year he weighed about one hundred sixty pounds, was tough, wiry, vigorous and strong. His body was slender, and his head seemed small in proportion to his great height. His legs and his arms were extraordinarily long, and his hands and feet very large. She said:

His skin was shriveled and yellow. His shoes, when he had any, were low. He wore buckskin breeches, linsey-woolsey shirt and a cap made from the skin of a squirrel or coon. His breeches were baggy, and lacked by several inches meeting the tops of his shoes, thereby exposing his shin-bone, sharp, blue and narrow.

Certainly he was not handsome; but he was tall, kind and brave; and both the boys and girls admired him.

By the time he was seventeen, Lincoln had attained his great stature. He had used the ax from the time of his arrival in Indiana, and could sink it deep in the log. He could plow, reap and do all manner of rough work, and was sometimes employed by neighbors. He was in demand in hog-killing, and for this hard, none too pleasant work received what now seems a poor stipend; but it was a time when money was hard to get, and a very little of it purchased a considerable amount of muscular toil.

He shared in the merry-making of the neighborhood, and showed no refinement of taste higher than his neighbors. Too much has been made of a certain rude country prank which he and others are alleged to have performed at a wedding, and some coarse articles that he wrote about it.* Jokes at weddings are not very refined even now, and such as were then performed were part and parcel of rude frontier life. The pioneer was rough and coarse-grained, and the objects of his mirth were elemental. They were coarse but not degenerate. The author finds no good reason to reproduce here any of the crude lines written by Lincoln in this period; they are easily accessible for any who want them, and there is no occasion to suppress them. Neither is it necessary to take them too seriously. They represent the characteristic humor and satire of the period and the place. Lincoln was as refined as his boyhood neighbors, and at that time not much more so.

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*It may be worth while to record that the practical joke described in the verses which Herndon unwisely printed probably never occurred. After the appearance of Herndon's book, inquiry was made in Indiana, and what was declared to be the original manuscript of Lincoln's doggerel was then in possession of Edmond Grigsby, of Rockport, Indiana. A newspaper obtained possession of a copy, and before printing the *Chronicles* sent a reporter to interview Elizabeth Grigsby, or "Aunt Betsy" as she was known. She was asked about the manuscript, and declared that it was true that Lincoln wrote the verses, but that there was no intention of giving the impression that the event really occurred. "Yes, they did have a joke on us," said Aunt Betsy. "They said my man got into the wrong room, and Charles got into my room. But it wasn't so. Lincoln just wrote that for mischief. Abe and my man often laughed about that."

Thomas and Nancy Lincoln were religious people, and Sally Bush, who later came to the home, was also religious. The assumption that Thomas Lincoln was dragged into church membership by his second wife, does not appear to be well-founded. When he first reached Indiana, there was no church on Pigeon Creek.* When he united with the Little Pigeon Church, his membership was by letter, while that of his wife was "by experience."

It was Thomas Lincoln's custom to "ask a blessing" at the table. On one occasion when the meal consisted wholly of roasted potatoes, Abraham looked up from the potatoes to his father and remarked, "Dad, I call them mighty poor blessings."

Thomas Lincoln became a prominent as well as a consistent member of the Little Pigeon Church.

The records of the Little Pigeon Church contain this record of the uniting of Thomas and Sarah Lincoln:

June the 7 1823
The church met and after prayer proceeded to busyness.
1st Inquired for fellowship.
2nd Invited members of sister churches to seats with us.
3rd Opened a dore for the Reception of Members.
4th Received Brother Thomas Linkhon by letter and
5th the case of Sister Elizabeth White coled for & refires and the Brother and the brother that was to bare a letter to his aquited.
6th The church appoints Messengers to Represent them at the next asiation: Yong Lemare Charles Harper & Wm Stark and the Clirk to prepare a letter to be inspected At our Next Meting—
7th Received Brother John wire by Relation And Sister —— Linkhon and Thomas Carter by Experance.

A few days later Abraham Lincoln doubtless saw his stepmother immersed in the waters of Little Pigeon Creek.

*Honorable Thomas B. McGregor, Assistant Attorney General of Kentucky, first called my attention to the Pigeon Creek records, which I later examined and copied. I acknowledge the courtesy of the clerk of the church, Mr. Lewis Varner, in being permitted to copy these records.

Baptisings in those days were noisy events; and it was considered desirable for the candidate to "come up a-shouting." But we can imagine that Sarah Bush took the experience calmly, and with a deep realization of its meaning.

The Lincolns were active members of the church. Thomas Lincoln was an officer, and is of record as a contributor. There are several records such as this:

We the under Signed Refereas being Conveaned at the meting house on the 20th of February in 1830 in order to Settle A difficulty between Sister Grigsby & Sister Crafford first chose brother T. Lincoln moderator & Bro. Wm. Bristow Clk. not being one of the body qualified and agreed to deside on all points by a Majority third after a long patient Investigation on the above case on motion The referees agrees that the Charge is In legal therefore agrees the defendent is aquited.

Attest:
Wm. Bristow Clk.

T. Lincoln mod.
A. Guntraman
R. Oskins
I. Oskins
D. Turnham.

The name of Thomas Lincoln appears frequently on the record book of the Little Pigeon Church. Thomas was often moderator of church meetings, and sometimes a messenger to other churches. He was appointed to arbitrate disputes between members. At no time is there any indication that he and his wife were not acceptable members of the church, and loved by most of their neighbors. We know, however, that the Lincolns and the Grigsbys were not always at peace. Abraham's sister Sarah married Aaron Grigsby, and died at the birth of her first child. Abraham, and apparently the other members of his family, disliked the Grigsbys, evidently for some reason associated with the death of Sarah. When the Lincolns were preparing to leave Indiana for Illinois, they requested their church letters, that they might unite with a church in their new home state. These letters were granted at a meeting of the church November 12, 1829. There

was no opposition. But two months later, on January tenth, this entry appears:

Inquired for fellowship and Sister Nancy Grigsby informed the church that she is not satisfied with Br. and Sister Lincoln. The church agreed and called back their letters until satisfaction could be obtained. The partys convened at Wm. Hoskins and agreed and settled the difficulty.

So Thomas and Sarah Lincoln left Indiana with their church letters in due form, commending them to any other Primitive Baptist Church.

The Primitive Baptist Church in Lincoln's day was not a startlingly progressive organization. The records of Little Pigeon, in the time of the membership of the Lincolns, show more than one vote in which the church declined all responsibility for missionary organizations and "track societies." To this day that church, and the other churches of that communion in the Little Zion Association, have their monthly preaching appointments instead of weekly services. They have grown somewhat more progressive with the passage of the years; but in Lincoln's day they stood for the good old Two-Seed, Hardshell, Anti-Missionary, Predestinarian gospel, and he was not much of a preacher who could not be heard a mile.

The woods of Kentucky and the woods of Indiana are much alike. But Spencer County has one thing adjacent to its woods which the Knob Creek neighborhood did not have, and that is the Ohio River, a mighty artery of the nation's life and a potent influence in the life of Lincoln. The significance of this fact must not be overlooked. In his later boyhood Lincoln was engaged as a ferryman, at the mouth of Anderson's Creek, at the present village of Troy. This was a task which must have been an education to him. Low water tied up all sorts of traffic, and even when the traffic moved, it was deliberate. Lincoln had occasion to meet and know many types of life as he wrought at his task as a ferryman.

When he was nineteen, he made a voyage on a flat-boat to New Orleans. It must have been an illuminating journey. He received eight dollars a month and his return transportation; but what he learned must have been worth to him much more than the money, although at the time the money doubtless seemed the more desirable. He was later to make another voyage, from Illinois, and we know some convictions concerning human freedom that grew stronger as he made that journey.

For several months in the latter part of 1826, Abraham worked for James Taylor of Posey's Landing, near where the Lincoln family had first entered Indiana ten years previously. Taylor was a merchant, operating a "bank-store" which, located on the river bank, supplied both river trade and that of the farms. He also operated a ferry across Anderson's Creek. Lincoln does not appear to have worked in the store; Taylor was assisted there by his son Green. Lincoln's task was to operate the ferry.

Near the same point was a ferry across the Ohio River, operated by John T. Dill. Apparently there was a somewhat sharp distinction between the right to navigate a ferry across Anderson's Creek, which was an Indiana concession, and that which permitted the operation of a ferry across the Ohio; for by the original Act admitting Kentucky to the Union, the Ohio River to low-water mark on the opposite shore, lies within the jurisdiction of Kentucky.

In the spring of 1827, Lincoln built for himself a flat-bottomed boat, and now and then did a little business on his own account. He was able at times to earn an honest penny by rowing passengers out from the Indiana side to steamers halted by signal. Secretary Seward was accustomed to tell a story about an entire dollar which Lincoln received from two appreciative passengers for a service of this character. A dollar for less than a day's work seemed fabulously large to a young man accustomed to work for something like sixteen cents a day.

The river ferryman, John T. Dill, did not enjoy having Lin-

coln engage in this traffic; and apparently Lincoln did not solicit custom when Dill was on the Indiana side of the river. But if a steamer had been hailed and was approaching, and Dill was on the other side of the stream, that was Lincoln's opportunity, and he improved it.

One day when Lincoln was in his boat, Dill hailed him from the Kentucky side, and Lincoln rowed to the shore, where he was seized by Dill and his brother, the brother having hidden till Lincoln was within reach. They accused him of taking their business away from them, and threatened to duck him in the river. Perhaps they felt some misgivings as to whether even the two of them were safe in an undertaking of this character. For whatever reason, they offered to modify the plan if Lincoln would go with them to the house of a magistrate and have the matter settled according to law. Lincoln readily consented, and the three went together to the house of Squire Samuel Pate, only a few hundred yards away.

There the Dills entered complaint, and swore out a warrant. This was issued and served upon the defendant, present in court, and the case of the Commonwealth of Kentucky against Abraham Lincoln was called. Both parties announced themselves as ready for trial.

The complaining witnesses introduced their evidence. The defendant had transported passengers from the Indiana shore to steamboats on the Ohio River, though having no license to operate a ferry on that stream. The river belonged to Kentucky, and John T. Dill held a license to operate a ferry across the Ohio River from the Kentucky shore to the mouth of Anderson's Creek.

The defendant admitted the facts as alleged, but denied having violated the statute or having infringed upon the rights of the authorized ferryman. The ferry license authorized John T. Dill to convey passengers across the Ohio River, and gave him the exclusive right of doing this for pay between the points specified. But it did not forbid others than the ferryman to transport passengers to the middle of the stream.

He told the magistrate that he had not intended to violate the law and did not think that he had done so. He had not claimed the privilege of "setting persons across the river," but had rowed them out to midstream. He stated that as the ferry-boat could not always be on the Indiana side when a steamer was approaching, and as steamers would not be delayed, it seemed but right that passengers who were awaiting the steamer should have opportunity to hire a boat to convey them to the steamer when it arrived.

Squire Pate was impressed by the evident sincerity of the young man, and began to examine with some care the copy of the Statutes of Kentucky which he owned. He stated at length that Dill unquestionably held the lawful and exclusive right to "set a person across" the river; but the court was of opinion that that right did not preclude an unlicensed person from rowing passengers to the middle of the stream. The defendant was therefore acquitted.

The Dill brothers, much disgruntled, went their way, and Lincoln sat on the ample porch and talked with Squire Pate. The squire told Lincoln that many difficulties arise because people do not inform themselves concerning the statutes, and said that every man ought to know something about law.*

Squire Pate had built his new hewn-log house with one of its rooms of unusual size, with special reference to use as a magistrate's court room, and once a month he cleared his monthly docket. Lincoln rowed across the river more than once to attend these trials, and grew increasingly interested in court procedure. There would appear to be reasonable probability that this case had an important influence in turning Lincoln's attention

*My knowledge of this interesting case comes to me from Honorable William H. Townsend, who has discovered these facts and corroborated them by evidence obtained from the descendants of Squire Pate, who still lives in the house where the case of the Commonwealth of Kentucky against Abraham Lincoln was tried. Very appropriately, Mr. Townsend owns the copy of the *Revised Statutes of Indiana* which belonged to David Turnham, and which Abraham Lincoln studied after this experience. Mr. Townsend is relating this and much other important information in his *Abraham Lincoln, Litigant*, to be published about the time of publication of the present work.

to the law. He borrowed a copy of the Indiana Statutes from David Turnham, and afterward borrowed other books from Judge John Pilcher.

Stern as were the conditions of frontier life, they did not obliterate any of the essential joys of living. Hope was strong in the hearts of the pioneers, and love and labor were the common lot. There was little time for romance, but there was rough and hearty and generally wholesome merry-making, and now and then a dream of something beyond.

As near a day-dream as has come to us of Abraham Lincoln is the following, which has found a place in various collections of Lincoln's stories and sayings, and which was recorded by T. W. S. Kidd, editor of *The Morning Monitor,* of Springfield:

Did you ever write out a story in your mind? I did when I was a little codger. One day a wagon with a lady and two girls and a man broke down near us, and while they were fixing up, they cooked in our kitchen. The woman had books and read us stories, and they were the first I had ever heard. I took a great fancy to one of the girls; and when they were gone I thought of her a great deal, and one day when I was sitting out in the sun by the house I wrote out a story in my mind. I thought I took my father's horse and followed the wagon, and finally I found it, and they were surprised to see me. I talked with the girl and persuaded her to elope with me, and that night I put her on my horse, and we started off across the prairie. After several hours we came to a camp; and when we rode up we found it was the one we had left a few hours before, and we went in. The next night we tried again, and the same thing happened—the horse came back to the same place; and then we concluded that we ought not to elope. I stayed until I had persuaded her father to give her to me. I always meant to write that story out and publish it, and I began once; but I concluded it was not much of a story. But I think that was the beginning of love with me.

It was unfortunate for Lincoln that in all his childhood and youth he did not fall under the direct influence of an educated minister who might have encouraged his love of learning and

given it some measure of direction. The preachers whom the Lincoln family heard were nearly all Baptists, earnest and unlettered men, who plowed corn and preached with equal perspiration and other evidence of hard work, and who did good, but had no learning or love of it. Lincoln is alleged to have mimicked the preachers of his boyhood. Their mannerisms invited mirthful mimicry. Their cultivated whine, their periodic and professional expectoration, their dogmatism, their appeal to the terrors of hell fire, all invited the imitation of a frolicsome boy. They appear to have done him no harm, and their preaching and his home doctrine made him a predestinarian, or as Herndon declares, a fatalist, to the day of his death. But his love of learning was not strongly assisted by the ministry of the backwoods. One Baptist preacher, Aaron Farmer, commended an article of Abraham's on Temperance, and is said to have sent it for publication to an Ohio newspaper; but this incident was exceptional.

Of Abraham's conduct in the years of his boyhood, Dennis Hanks, his constant companion, wrote to Herndon, June 13, 1866:

> Abe was a good boy—an affectionate one—a boy who loved his parents well and was obedient to their every wish. Although anything but an impudent or rude boy, he was sometimes uncomfortably inquisitive. When strangers would ride along or pass by his father's fence, he always—either through boyish pride or to tease his father—would ask the first question. His father would sometimes knock him over. When thus punished, he never bellowed; but dropped a kind of silent, unwelcome tear as an evidence of his sensitiveness or other feelings.*

In Indiana as in Kentucky the principal crop of the pioneer was corn. It began to be an article of food as soon as the ears were ready for roasting. A little later the kernels were utilized for hominy; and as they matured a little more they were gritted against a sheet of tin, perforated and attached to a board. Hand-

*Herndon's *Lincoln*, i, p. 22.

mills were in many homes, and were utilized for the grinding of corn in small quantities. But the food for the greater part of the year had to be ground in the public mill and prepared as hoe-cake or corn pone. This made the local mill an important adjunct to the home. When the streams were flowing well, the small dull stones were driven slowly round by water-power; but when water failed, the horse that brought the grist to mill was the power that turned the mill. Hitched to a long sweep, the horse walked round and round, the stone making one revolution each time the horse completed the larger circle. It was a painfully slow process. The boy who had ridden to mill on his sack of corn and who hoped to ride triumphantly home upon the same bag filled with meal, had no fondness for the weary task of whipping his reluctant horse around the dusty circular path.

One day Abraham rode his father's gray mare to mill. The miller's name was Gordon, and the mill was several miles away. Abraham was late in arriving; and if there had been any water in the pond, it had flowed through the race and over the wheel before his turn came. He had to hitch the old mare to the sweep, and drive her around the course, a task which he enjoyed as little as the mare. Seeking to shorten a little the period of this distasteful labor, he urged the old mare on by clucking and whipping until the mare rebelled and kicked back at him with her unshod hoof. "Get up, you old hussy," he began to say, and accompanied the first word with the use of the whip. He had just said "Get up" when the kick came. The blow knocked him senseless and apparently dead. Gordon sent word to Thomas Lincoln, who came with his wagon and conveyed the insensible boy home. All night he lay, and gave no sign of life; but as dawn came in, his consciousness struggled slowly back, and the first sign of it was his utterance of the words, "you old hussy!"

In later years he pondered long over this incident. His mind resumed its normal activity at the precise point where consciousness had been interrupted. The suspended thought and the uncompleted sentence were completed automatically under the im-

pulse of his previous intent. Lincoln never ceased to think this one of his notable experiences; and it gave him material for thoughtful consideration of the nature and operation of the human intellect.

Lest we seem to exalt unduly the Lincoln of this period, let it be recorded that he did not love work. Some of his old neighbors, including one or two of his employers, were sufficiently unawed by his subsequent greatness to say frankly that he was lazy. He could work hard, and on occasion did so; but his work was interrupted by his love of story-telling, his fondness for gossip with any one who passed along the road, and by periods of deep meditation and abstraction. John Romaine said of him in 1865:

> He worked for me, but was always reading and thinking. I used to get mad at him for it. I say he was awful lazy. He would laugh and talk, crack his jokes and tell stories all the time; but he didn't love his work half as much as his pay. He said to me one time that his father taught him to work, but he never taught him to love it.*

The women liked to have him about. While he was not observant of trifling jobs that needed to be done, he was always obliging, and ready to bring a bucket of water from the spring, or take a hand at the churn. But one of these women admitted that "Abe was no hand to work like killing snakes."

Though he did not like to work, he did like to read. He borrowed newspapers from William Wood and learned about the life of the world as it then was lived outside Gentryville. But as for manual labor, we may accept the statement of John Romaine that he was "awful lazy" and liked his pay much better than he liked work.

The Lincoln family is nearly ready for its next migration. For all of them it will mean a permanent removal from Indi-

*Herndon's *Lincoln*, 1st Ed. i, p. 42.

ana, more complete than their removal from Kentucky fourteen years previously. For Abraham it will mean more; for this uprooting from his boyhood soil in Indiana coincides with his arrival at the age of manhood.

It meant much to Abraham Lincoln to spend the years of his adolescence in Southern Indiana. He was on free soil, protected from slavery by the Ordinance of 1787, yet he was not detached from the social and political and religious environments of his Kentucky childhood. There was in the transfer of the family from Kentucky to Indiana a wholesome step in evolution toward his predestined greatness, but not too violent a wrenching away from what he had previously known and believed. Indiana was a good place for him in those obscure years.

And now, Indiana sends him forth, a tall, strong, awkward youth, who has not yet been seriously in love, who has not united with any church, who has not cast a vote, but who has in him the promise and potency of large achievements. He is intelligent, courageous, sympathetic. He can read and write and spell, and he can cipher to the rule of three. He can write essays and declaim stump speeches and command respect for his power of arm and strength of character.

Indiana does not know that she has been sheltering and training a future leader of the nation, but no state ever knows that. Indiana has done well by him, and will one day discover of what sort is this raw-boned youth who is about to leave her for a new home, and will make a shrine of the place where he lived, and will seek out the lovely spot where Nancy Hanks lies buried, and erect a monument on the soil where he wept in boyhood over the grave of his mother.

CHAPTER VIII

REMOVAL TO ILLINOIS
1830

THE childhood of Lincoln belongs to Kentucky, and his youth to Indiana; but the whole of his manhood, until his inauguration as president, belongs to Illinois. Less than three weeks after his twenty-first birthday, Abraham Lincoln set out for Illinois, and never left that state for residence elsewhere until he departed for Washington, on February 11, 1861.*

The autumn of 1829 brought to Spencer County a recurrence of the "milk-sick." Cattle and human beings died. The fatality was less than it had been eleven years previous, but the fear was great. No member of the Lincoln family or of their immediate kin perished in this outbreak, but they lost some of their live-stock. They were discouraged and alarmed. Moreover, they were of a migratory disposition. John Hanks had gone to Illinois some years earlier, and his reports and those of others who had made their homes there were very attractive. Dennis went to Illinois to visit John and spy out the land, and his report was favorable. The Lincolns and their kin were ready to move.

Thomas Lincoln had entered one hundred sixty acres of land when he first came from Kentucky to Indiana. He had reduced that venture to an eighty-acre tract, applying upon the half which he retained the whole of his payment. Still he owed the

*Reference may be made to my address on *The Influence of Illinois in the Development of Abraham Lincoln* delivered before the Illinois State Historical Society and published in its Transactions for 1921; also to my address on *The Influence of Chicago upon Abraham Lincoln* delivered before the Chicago Historical Society, and published by the University of Chicago in 1922.

government more than he was likely ever to pay toward the completion of his purchase at two dollars an acre. He sold his land to James Gentry, and his stock and grain to David Turnham. He had recently disposed of a town lot in Elizabethtown, which had come to him on his marriage with Sarah Bush Johnston. He was able to pay up his bills and to leave Indiana with more personal property than he brought to it.

On the first day of March, 1830, the family of Thomas Lincoln left their home in Spencer County, Indiana, and started for Illinois. The company included Thomas and Sarah Lincoln, Abraham Lincoln, John D. Johnston, son of Sarah Lincoln by her former husband, Dennis Hanks and his wife Sarah, a daughter of Sarah Bush Lincoln, Squire Hall and his wife Matilda, the other daughter of Sarah Bush Lincoln, and enough small children, grandchildren of Mrs. Lincoln, to make the entire party thirteen.*

These people and their belongings were loaded into a wagon drawn by two yoke of oxen. Abraham drove the oxen a considerable portion of the journey. Long afterward he described the experience which he remembered vividly:

He said the ground had not yet yielded up the frosts of winter; that during the day the roads would thaw out the surface and at night freeze over again, thus making traveling, especially with oxen, painfully slow and tiresome. There were, of course, no bridges, and the party were consequently driven to ford the streams, unless by a circuitous route they could avoid them. In the early part of the day the latter also were frozen slightly, and the oxen would break through a square yard of ice at every step.

*Mrs. Harriet Chapman, daughter of Dennis Hanks, accompanied this party. She was a little girl at the time. She made oath in 1912 that there were three covered wagons, two drawn by oxen and one by horses, but other accounts speak of only one wagon. She gave the names of the members of the party: Thomas Lincoln and his wife Sarah; Dennis F. Hanks and his wife Elizabeth (Johnston) Hanks and their children, John, Sarah Jane, Nancy and the affiant, Harriet Hanks; Squire Hall and his wife Matilda (Johnston) and one child named John Hall; Abraham Lincoln and John D. Johnston. In this company of thirteen Thomas Lincoln could write his name, but the only ones who could have written any account of the journey were Abraham Lincoln and Dennis Hanks.

Among other things which the party brought with them was a pet dog, which trotted along after the wagon. One day the little fellow fell behind and failed to catch up till after they had crossed the stream. Missing him, they looked back, and there, on the opposite bank, he stood, whining and jumping about in great distress. The water was running over the broken edges of the ice, and the poor animal was afraid to cross.

It would not pay to turn the oxen and wagon back and to ford the stream again in order to recover a dog, and so the majority, in their anxiety to move forward, decided to go on without him. "But I could not endure the idea of abandoning even a dog," related Lincoln. "Pulling off shoes and socks, I waded across the stream and triumphantly returned with the shivering animal under my arm. His frantic leaps of joy and other evidences of a dog's gratitude amply repaid me for all the exposure I had undergone."*

This is practically the only incident preserved to us of a notable migration. The journey occupied two weeks. To the thirteen occupants, old and young, of the big prairie schooner, it was too much akin to the life they knew and understood to leave many very permanent impressions. Lincoln afterward told his friends that as they passed through Vincennes he saw a printing press for the first time.† He also related that as they passed through Palestine he saw a juggler performing tricks of sleight of hand. One night near the middle of March they came to Decatur and camped in the court-house square. In 1856, Lincoln was able to identify the exact spot where the wagon had stood, and the site is now indicated by a tablet. They had come to Decatur from the

*Herndon's *Lincoln*, 1:59

†In June, 1923, accompanied by Honorable William H. Townsend, of Lexington, Kentucky, and his brother-in-law, Mr. Cleveland D. Johnson, of Kansas City, I traced the Lincoln route from Springfield, Kentucky, to Springfield, Illinois. Our journey by automobile occupied three and one-half days, and our mileage was six hundred and eighty-seven. We followed the route laid down in two official investigations, that of Mr. C. M. Thompson for the Illinois State Historical Library, and that of Messrs. Joseph M. Cravens and Jesse W. Weik for the governor of Indiana. We ferried across the Ohio, the Kentucky and some other rivers.

south, their route being not far from the main line of the Illinois Central Railroad.*

The next day they journeyed westward to the home of John Hanks,† who had already located in Macon County. He had cut logs for a new home located on the Sangamon River about ten miles west of Decatur. Thomas and Abraham Lincoln, Dennis Hanks, John D. Johnston and Squire Hall soon had the logs built into a cabin. There the entire company of thirteen made their first home in Illinois. They broke ten acres of prairie ground and raised a crop of sown corn that same year. They cut down trees and made rails with which the ten acres were fenced. These rails, according to the testimony of Abraham Lincoln himself, were the ones that afterward became famous. They were not, however, the only rails that Abraham Lincoln split in Macon County. He and John Hanks split three thousand rails for Major John Warnick, Sheriff of Macon County, and Abraham procured his first new clothes after the attainment of his majority by the splitting of four hundred rails for every yard of brown jeans dyed with white walnut bark, that would be necessary to make him a pair of trousers. For a man of his height this was no small contract, and apparently, he did not at that time procure the rest of his suit.

Having provided for his father and stepmother, Lincoln now

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*Henry C. Whitney relates that he was in Decatur with Lincoln in 1856, when the latter pointed out the precise spot where the wagon halted for the night. The place is now marked by a tablet.

"Lincoln walked out a few feet in front, and after shifting his position two or three times, said, as he looked up at the building, partly to himself and partly to me: 'Here is the exact spot where I stood by our wagon when we moved from Indiana twenty-six years ago; this isn't six feet from the exact spot.' . . . I asked him if he, at that time, had expected to be a lawyer and practice law in that court-house; to which he replied: 'No, I didn't know I had sense enough to be a lawyer then.' He then told me he had frequently tried to locate the route by which they had come; and that he had decided that it was near to the main line of the Illinois Central Railroad."

†Herndon in his account of this journey speaks of him as "John Hanks, son of that Joseph Hanks, in whose shop at Elizabethtown Thomas Lincoln learned what he knew of the carpenter's art." Nicolay and Hay make this same mistake. John was the son of William Hanks and nephew of this, the younger Joseph.

left the paternal home. For a year he worked at odd jobs obtained from various settlers in Macon County. He split rails, he worked in the harvest field and took a general share in the rough work of a new community.

Freed from the restraints of home life, Lincoln at this time made some independent adventures into society. One still may hear tales in the vicinity of Decatur of Lincoln's attentions during those twelve months to the girls of the settlement. These little gallantries were all innocent enough, but they have served to preserve the names of one or two of the young women of the neighborhood. Polly Warnick, daughter of Major Warnick, the Sheriff of Macon County, lived on a large farm on the opposite side of the river from the Lincolns, and Abraham paid her some little attention. Major Warnick is said not to have favored the match. Polly had suitors in abundance who owned land or had political influence; and Lincoln belonged to a poor family lately arrived and without brilliant prospects. If Lincoln cared for her or she for him beyond a pleasurable and passing interest in each other, there is no record of it. And it did not last long. The records of Macon County show that on June 17, 1830, license was issued for the marriage of Joseph Stevens and Mary Warnick. But Joseph Stevens boasted to the end of his life that he and Abe Lincoln had been rivals for the affection of Polly, and that in the contest Abe came out at the little end of the horn.

John Hanks, who was his closest companion at this time, informs us that Lincoln made a political speech in or near Decatur. A man by the name of Posey visited the locality and delivered an address. John Hanks declared that Abraham could do better. Abraham ascended a box or stump and delivered an address on the navigation of the Sangamon River. That subject interested the people of Macon County more than almost anything else which he could have talked about. John recorded that Posey himself was impressed by it and called Abraham aside to inquire how he had learned so much. Abraham told him what he had read, and Posey encouraged him to persevere in his

studies. Several old settlers resident in and about Decatur in after years professed to have heard this first political speech of Abraham Lincoln. It is affirmed that so far as he discussed national issues, he spoke in praise of Andrew Jackson. This may or may not be true. It would have been natural, considering Lincoln's background and environment. But he wisely refrained from much discussion of national issues, of which he knew but little and his audience cared less. "His subject was the navigation of the Sangamon," says John Hanks, and other men who professed to have heard the speech agreed with him.

The winter of 1830-1 was long remembered in Illinois as "the winter of the deep snow." Lincoln's canoe upset as he was crossing the Sangamon River, and his feet froze. For two weeks he lived in the home of Major Warnick while his feet were healing.

"The winter of the deep snow" was for a whole generation a dividing point in Illinois history. The snow fell, not, as it seemed, in flakes, but in shovelsful. The snow was followed by bitter cold weather—twelve or more degrees below zero—and the settlers were imprisoned for weeks. Livestock perished; and wild game has never been so plentiful in Illinois since. In later years when old settlers compared early experiences, no one was thought to have anything really worth recounting unless he came to the prairies in time to participate in the experiences of that terrible winter.*

*For matters relating to the life of Lincoln in Illinois I am indebted to the unfailing kindness of Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber and Miss Georgia L. Osborne, of the Illinois State Historical Society, and Miss Caroline McIlvaine, of the Chicago Historical Society.

CHAPTER IX

A WIZARD OF FINANCE
1831-1832

ABRAHAM LINCOLN sat in the large and comfortable house of Major Warnick awaiting the healing of his frozen feet. It was such a home as he had seldom if ever occupied even for a single night, and it offered a sorrowful contrast to the cabins of Thomas Lincoln. If, as the local tradition affirms, he was casting longing looks at Polly Warnick, and knew that she had a landed suitor ready to marry her, he could hardly blame Major Warnick for preferring the other man.

Abraham Lincoln was not a man who counted leisure time wasted. He had enough to eat and no pressing duties awaiting his attention. The snow was too deep for unnecessary work. With his feet encased in huge moccasins extemporized from deerskins, he shuffled over the floor to the fireplace, and, with his chair tipped back against the wall, or laid face-downward on the floor with its tilted back as the hypothenuse of a convenient triangle for the support of his own back stretched partly along the chair and partly on the floor, he alternated two of his favorite positions and read from a volume of the Statutes of Illinois which Major Warnick, in his capacity of sheriff, had in his possession.

What was he to do when his feet healed, and the snow melted and another spring appeared in the valley of the Sangamon? He had come to Illinois with his father, having no plan beyond this, that he would see his father and stepmother established in a new home, and then make his own way in the world. For nearly a

year he had been pursuing this course. What had he to show for it, and what was he to do next? These questions troubled Abraham Lincoln as little as most men, but they troubled him.

For two weeks he was confined to the house. Outside, as he looked through the windows, the snow was piled high. Roads began to be broken, but it was no time for unnecessary travel. Decatur was nine miles away, and the crowded cabin of Thomas Lincoln was three miles distant and across the river. He sat down, or lay down, in the comfortable Warnick home, and waited with less impatience than some men would have displayed, for the passing of the bitter cold and the melting of the snow. What was he to do next?

He might take up land, as John Hanks had done, and as Dennis Hanks and John D. Johnston professed to intend to do; but he did not enjoy manual labor. It was not simply that toil was irksome to him, though that was true, but he disliked the isolation and monotony of farm work. Two tendencies within him prevented his seeking a farm of his own as a home for himself and Polly Warnick or some other Macon County girl. One was his disinclination to farm labor; the other was the stirring of a consuming ambition. He remembered his political speech of the preceding summer. The approval with which it was greeted was pleasant to remember as he sat in Major Warnick's home and wondered what he was to do when he was able to go to work again.

One thing was certain, he must finish his contract of three thousand fence-rails which he had agreed to split for Major Warnick. It would require most, if not all of those rails, to pay for his board. And there would be occasional jobs until spring. Then he must depend on such labor as he could pick up in aid of one farmer or another. He was determined not to go back to his father's over-populated cabin; and he was equally disinclined to begin with the virgin prairie and devote the years of his life to the making of a farm for himself. What was he to do when the snow melted? He did not know. Abraham Lincoln was the

least impatient of the prisoners of the deep snow, but he sometimes wished he knew.

Destiny chooses strange heralds. Most of us, if we were to think back over the changes in our lives, would recall some incident which at the moment seemed trivial, or some person apparently insignificant, that served as the messenger of a new dispensation. One day after Lincoln's feet had healed, John Hanks rode over to where Abraham was then making his temporary home, and asked him to ride to Decatur and meet a remarkable man then stopping at the tavern in that place. That man was Denton Offutt.

Now the curtain rises on one of the most important scenes in the early life of Abraham Lincoln, his interview at Decatur with Denton Offutt. Abraham Lincoln, his second cousin John Hanks and his stepbrother John D. Johnston sat down with this merchant prince of the Sangamon, and discussed the future prosperity of that region, whose destiny Offutt appeared to hold in his keeping. Offutt had come from Lexington, Kentucky, and possessed the self-confidence and courtesy that belonged to a Kentuckian who assumed a position in the higher social strata together with the camaraderie that insured immediate acceptance among the common people. What the people of Illinois needed was markets for their produce, he affirmed. The prairies were capable of producing enormous crops, but for them there was no natural outlet save by the rivers, whose use was undeveloped. He proposed to buy cargoes of grain and pork in Illinois and market them in New Orleans, and to promote in connection with this central line of business a group of related enterprises that would bring wealth to all who participated in the venture.

John Hanks had had a preliminary conversation with Offutt and was impressed, but desired to confirm his own favorable judgment by the concurrent approval of Lincoln and Johnston. That approval was not delayed. They all approved. Offutt appeared to them a man of vision and enterprise, and they could not fail to trust him.

It was John Hanks and not Lincoln, of whom Decatur had heard, and so informed Offutt, as a capable riverman; and it was Hanks who told Offutt that he had two friends, Abraham Lincoln and John D. Johnston, both of whom had accompanied him on one of his voyages to New Orleans, and who might be persuaded to go again. These three, all experienced, and knowing one another and capable of working well together would make, with Offutt, a complete crew. Offutt did not pretend to understand river navigation. But he knew or was supposed to know business. He knew the prices at which corn and pork could be bought along the Sangamon, and the prices at which these commodities could be sold in New Orleans. He wanted three men to handle his boat. Such men were not as plentiful in Macon County, Illlinois, as they were in Spencer County, Indiana. He was glad to meet Hanks and thus secure one man; but when he found himself able through Hanks to secure two other experienced hands, whose knowledge of river navigation he was able to add to his own business ability, he was greatly pleased. After negotiation, he employed the three at a wage of fifty cents a day, and a bonus of sixty dollars each, a liberal sum as they estimated, and one he felt able to promise.*

Offutt informed them that he would procure a flat-boat at Beardstown and have it ready at the mouth of Spring Creek, near the little town of Springfield.

Springfield at that time had not conceived the ambition to be the capital of Illinois; but it had lately become a county-seat; it was one of a number of aspiring river towns, a large proportion of which have now disappeared from the map, each one of them pinning its hope of fame to the navigability of the Sangamon. The boat would be ready near Springfield by the ides of March; the three Macon County men were to be on hand to navigate it.

It may be that we ought to revise our judgment of men of

*This is the wage as stated by John Hanks. Lincoln once spoke of himself as working on a flat-boat for ten dollars a month; but he was apparently speaking in round numbers and in contrast with more affluent earnings.

Offutt's type, at least to the extent of doing justice to their influence in wakening ambition in the lives of other men. The evil that such men as Offutt do lives after them in the empty pockets and disappointed hopes of those who lend them money; the good is often interred under the imprecations of their creditors. The Colonel Sellers of Mark Twain's *Gilded Age,* the "Get-Rich-Quick-Wallingford" of more recent literature and other men of their kind, face a day of retribution in the wrath of those who too readily confide in them. But meantime something ought to be said of those men whom these promoters waken from lethargy or indecision and to whom they bring new impulse and vision. If we are to give the devil his due, Denton Offutt deserves a more gracious word than the biographers of Lincoln have accorded him. Other people may have had occasion to speak ill of him, but to Abraham Lincoln he was a generous friend, and one who blazed for him a highway into larger things than Lincoln himself at the time could well have understood.

It has been the custom of Lincoln's biographers to speak in terms of disrespect of Denton Offutt, and some of them have snuffed him out with a contemptuous phrase. He was a noisy braggart, a vain and shallow pretender, a wild and reckless speculator who did not disdain fraud when it served his ends, a man "windy, rattle-brained, unsteady and improvident." All this, and more to the same effect, we learn from various accounts of him. People trusted him to their sorrow, for he borrowed more money than he could well repay, and enticed those who trusted him into unprofitable ventures.

All this may be true, and it is too late to deny any of it. But, on the other hand, if we are to believe what comes to us on equally reliable authority, he was quick-witted, far-sighted, and had a clear head for business as well as a warm heart for friendship. Toward Lincoln, his attitude was one of generous appreciation.

For our knowledge of this second and more eventful of Lincoln's journeys to New Orleans, we are indebted to the recollections of John Hanks, who gave them in detail to Herndon in

later years. When the time arrived for the three men from Macon County to join Offutt near Springfield, the country was so flooded by the melting of the snow that it was not found practicable to make the journey overland. They procured a canoe and paddled down the Sangamon to Judy's Ferry, five miles east of Springfield. Only Hanks and Lincoln made the canoe voyage; Johnston had preceded them and he joined them at that point. Together they searched for Offutt and the boat that was to have been ready for their use. Neither Offutt nor the boat appeared, but inquiry disclosed the whereabouts of Offutt. The voyagers walked to Springfield, and found Offutt greatly enjoying the hospitality of the Buckhorn Tavern, whose cheerful host, Andrew Elliott, knew how to make his place attractive to men of Offutt's proclivities. The Buckhorn was the best of Springfield's two or three taverns, and Offutt was a man who appreciated the best and paid for it when he had the money. When he was out of money, he still had the best of entertainment which the place where he happened to sojourn afforded; his face and his ready speech secured him ample credit.

Recalled by the presence of the three men to his contract, Offutt proposed to them that they should build the boat, and receive additional wages while doing it. Reassured, the men returned to the shores of the Sangamon and began cutting down trees on Congress lands. Offutt arranged with William Kirkpatrick, who owned a saw-mill at Sangamontown, to saw the logs into lumber of the proper dimensions.

First of all, the navigators erected a shanty for their own shelter. They elected Lincoln cook, and he is said to have esteemed it a compliment. Diligently they labored, cutting down trees, rolling them to the water, floating them to the mill, and after the lumber had been sawed, fashioning it into a boat such as all of them had known on the Ohio. They were diligent because the river was falling, and they wanted to utilize the high water.

Four weeks were expended upon the construction of the boat, and when it was completed, Offutt bade farewell to his congenial

friends at the Buckhorn, and was present when the new vessel slid from her ways into the welcoming waters of the Sangamon. There was oratory such as was deemed appropriate to the occasion; and it is declared by John Hanks that when the speech-making entered the political field it was in praise of the Whig Party and of Andrew Jackson. That was surely a strange combination, but the strangest feature of it, and the one on which we shall have occasion to comment briefly, was that the Whig Party should have had any share in this celebration.

Some day it will be the task of some keen historical student to go minutely into a study of the political conditions of that period, and answer, if he can, how and why did Abraham Lincoln become a Whig? We shall later propound that question when we observe Abraham Lincoln entering politics. For the present we are concerned with the oratory that accompanied the launching of the flat-boat. Herndon, deriving his information in part from Lincoln himself, but mostly from John Hanks, wrote of this event:

> Within four weeks the boat was ready to launch. Offutt was sent for, and was present when she slid into the water. It was the occasion of much political chat and buncombe, in which the Whig Party and Jackson alike were, strangely enough, lauded to the skies. It is difficult to account for the unanimous approval of such strikingly antagonistic ideas, unless it be admitted that Offutt must have brought with him some substantial reminder of the hospitality on draught at the Buckhorn inn.*

That is an inadequate explanation, and Herndon should have known it. He was far from being a stranger to such entertainment as the Buckhorn afforded; that very bar was familiar to his youth. But Herndon was never drunk enough to have lauded the Democratic Party.

Here is a conjecture which possesses at least the merit of originality:

*Herndon's *Lincoln*, i:73.

It is that whatever of laudation the Whig Party received at the launching of the flat-boat was contributed by Offutt himself. Certainly John Hanks did not praise the Whig Party; he was advertised throughout the nation in 1860 as an old Democrat who was to vote for Lincoln, and so far as we know he was the only Hanks who did so. Neither Abraham Lincoln nor John D. Johnston inherited through Thomas Lincoln any other politics than those of Andrew Jackson, as interpreted in the Indiana woods by men born in Kentucky. But Denton Offutt was from Lexington, the home of Henry Clay. Did he on the day of the launching go into a panegyric of that statesman, and did he on the long days of the voyage relate to the eagerly listening Lincoln such knowledge as he had of the idol of the Whig Party who was destined to become Lincoln's own idol?

We are to thank Offutt for leading Abraham Lincoln a mile or more along the highway out of obscurity toward his life mission; are we to thank him for going not one mile but twain, and for the beginning of those reflections that made Lincoln a Whig?

In another chapter we must return briefly to this question in its wider implications. We now climb down the muddy bank of the Sangamon and prepare for the journey to New Orleans.

The boat was built flat on the bottom, save for a bow and stern that took an obtuse upward angle. There was an attempt to add to the river current auxiliary power by means of a sail made of planks and cloth, a feature which is said to have excited the mirthful contempt of river-wise Beardstown, which lies at the junction of the Sangamon and Illinois. It is not likely that the sail was of material assistance. The cargo consisted partly of grain, but more of pork in barrels, and some live hogs.

One incident ought to be recorded before the boat casts off, which is that, shortly before they left, the crew attended a performance given by a strolling magician, and that he cooked eggs in Abraham Lincoln's low-crowned, wide-brimmed felt hat. Lincoln loaned the hat with real or feigned reluctance, explaining his hesitation on the ground that he did not greatly value the hat

but had respect for the eggs. Abraham Lincoln had left behind him the days of the coonskin cap. He was still a long way from the enormous stove-pipe hat of his professional career, but his raiment was in the process of evolution.

The log of this eventful voyage is somewhat as follows:

About March 1, 1831, just a year after his entrance into Illinois, Abraham Lincoln and John Hanks launched their canoe on the swollen water of the Sangamon and were floated by the melting flood of the deep snow to Judy's Ferry. About the middle of April they launched their flat-boat. John Hanks did not accompany the boat all the way to New Orleans. By the time they reached St. Louis his concern for his family caused him to leave the party, and he walked back to Decatur. The boat made good progress down the Mississippi. It tied up for a day at Memphis, and made short stops at Vicksburg and Natchez. Early in May it tied up to the levee in New Orleans. Here Offutt and his two assistants spent a month, disposing of their cargo to good advantage, and having ample time to view the sights of the city already slightly familiar to Lincoln. In June they boarded a river steamer and returned up the river to St. Louis, where Lincoln and Johnston left Offutt and made their way to Coles County, where Thomas Lincoln had removed, one year's residence in Macon having convinced him that that county was unhealthy. About a month Abraham waited at his father's farm in Coles County, Thomas Lincoln's permanent and final home on earth. While there Abraham whipped a bully named Daniel Needham. In August he left his father's home for the last time, except for short and infrequent visits.

This outline has omitted two or three significant incidents, which call for brief mention. One of these is recorded by John Hanks as having occurred while the crew of the boat were in New Orleans, where Lincoln spent nearly a month. There Lincoln saw slaves chained and exposed for sale. The familiarity of the bidders in handling and examining a mulatto girl roused his deep resentment, and the whole system seemed to him wicked

and debasing. John Hanks declared many years afterward that Lincoln said then and there that if he ever got a chance to hit that institution, meaning slavery, he would hit it hard. We may not trust implicitly to the accuracy of John Hanks' verbal memory, but we know from other sources that what Lincoln saw of slavery upon this voyage made an indelible impression upon his mind. Lincoln was not without prophetic intimations of his own coming power. It is not impossible that he said what John Hanks declared that he said. In due time he had his chance to hit that institution, and he did hit it hard.

In giving a measure of credence to this story, however, we remember that if the incident occurred as John Hanks told it, John could not have been a witness of it. John Hanks did not, on this journey, go all the way to New Orleans.* The trip had been delayed a month by the necessity of building the boat, and had encountered some other delays, and Hanks considered that, having a family, it was better for him not to be away from home so long; and he left the boat at St. Louis, on the way down, and walked home. But Herndon relates that he himself often heard Lincoln refer to this trip as one on which his experiences deepened his hostility to slavery; and the remark is one that he may have made to John as they talked matters over after his return. Granting that the story has lost nothing in the telling, it is not inherently improbable. We have an account from Lincoln's own pen of a journey made just ten years later to a point not so far south, and of its effect upon him. Writing some fourteen years after the event to his friend, Joshua F. Speed, of Kentucky, Lincoln said:

In 1841, you and I had together a tedious low-water trip on a steamboat from Louisville to St. Louis. You may remember, as I do, that from Louisville to the mouth of the Ohio there were on board ten or a dozen slaves shackled with irons. The sight

*Lincoln is specific on this point: "Hanks had not gone to New Orleans, but having a family, and being likely to be detained from home longer than was first expected, had turned back at St. Louis." *Autobiography* furnished to J. L. Scripps in 1860.

was a continual torment to me, and I see something like it every time I touch the Ohio or any other slave border. It is not for you to assume that I have no interest in a thing which has, and continually exercises, the power of making me miserable.

What Lincoln remembered to have seen of slavery in Kentucky in the years of his childhood had little in it that was repellent; but when he saw it in its full possibility of degradation of both black and white, it is little wonder that his soul was roused in righteous protest.

Another fact that is not to be overlooked is that, while the voyage appears to have been a prosperous one, it completely satisfied Offutt. His career thenceforth was destined to be on land rather than on the rivers. He determined to establish a vast commercial enterprise at a town well located and conduct his operations from that center, leaving the boating to those who had greater fondness for water.

A third fact is that Lincoln and Offutt found themselves increasingly attached to each other, and each found in the other a companion who might be of material advantage to him. Lincoln himself was apparently proud when in later years he remembered Offutt's liking for him. When he furnished John Locke Scripps his campaign autobiography, he wrote:

During this boat enterprise acquaintance with Offutt, who was previously an entire stranger, he conceived a liking for Abraham and believing he could turn him to account, he contracted with him to act as clerk for him on his return from New Orleans, in charge of a store and mill at New Salem, then in Sangamon, now in Menard County.

And finally, we must write into the log a date very near the beginning of the voyage, the nineteenth of April. That has been a notable day in American history. On April 19, 1775, was fired the shot heard round the world. On April 19, 1861, was shed the first blood of the Civil War. On April 19, 1831, the flatboat commanded by Denton Offutt and manned by Abraham Lincoln, John Hanks and John D. Johnston, stuck on the dam of Rutledge mill at New Salem.

CHAPTER X

THE DRIFTWOOD AND THE DAM
1831-1832

Abraham Lincoln stood at his watch at the steering-oar of the flat-boat that was conveying him and Denton Offutt and John Hanks and John D. Johnston down the Sangamon to the Illinois, down the Illinois to the Mississippi and down the Mississippi to New Orleans. He watched the shore, the current and the passing river craft. He also watched the flotsam of the river. The high floods that followed the deep snow carried in their current an unusual quantity of drift. The waters were subsiding. Much that floated down had caught in the branches of low-growing trees, or stranded on muddy banks. There is a fascination in river drift. The plank-and-cloth sail of the flat-boat proved no material aid to navigation, so the boat floated about as rapidly as the logs and branches. Some of the logs were recognizable by reason of projecting knots or upstanding stubs of limbs that took on a grotesque appearance of personality. Some of the pieces of drift became old friends. They would disappear for days, and then reappear many miles farther down the stream as eddying currents drifted them near to the boat again.

Abraham Lincoln came to feel a strange kinship with these floating logs. He thought it out in phraseology which he afterward remembered, and now and then repeated to his friends:

He assured those with whom he came in contact that he was a piece of floating driftwood; that after the winter of deep snow he had come down the river with the freshet, borne along by the

swelling waters, and, aimlessly floating about, he had accidentally lodged at New Salem.*

But there are distinctions even in river driftwood.

There is a somewhat recent story which takes the character of a fable, that has made its way through newspaper columns on this wise:

A Dead Rat and an Apple Core were flung into the Mississippi at St. Paul, and, drifting together, started a voyage down the great Father of Waters. Much of the time they floated apart, but occasionally they met, and sometimes were for hours or even days within hailing distance of each other. They sailed together past Dubuque, encountered each other again at Alton, and after a long period of absence met again below Cairo. At Memphis they were caught in the churning wake of a steamboat, and washed under a wharf, where for some time they bobbed up and down together among the piles. As the steamer backed out into the stream, and its wash leveled down, they floated free again. Then, and for the first time, the Apple Core spoke, and said, cheerfully, "We are having an eventful voyage." But the Dead Rat lifted its aristocratic nose in scorn at this approach to familiarity, and asked, "Where do you get that 'we' stuff?"

Abraham Lincoln never heard this story, and the modern slang of it would have been unfamiliar to him; but he was not too fastidious to have enjoyed hearing and telling this modern Æsopian tale, and he would have instantly recognized its moral.

He was a piece of driftwood. But driftwood is not all alike. John Hanks and John D. Johnston floated down the same stream and stuck on the same dam with Lincoln. Neither John Hanks nor John D. Johnston impressed Denton Offutt as a man with whom he would like to negotiate a permanent relationship.

But what would have happened to Abraham Lincoln if there had been no dam at New Salem? The flat-boat would have floated more or less proudly past that enterprising settlement,

*Herndon, i, 79.

nor dropped anchor till it reached the farm of Squire Godbey, several miles below, where there were live hogs to load. But there was a dam at New Salem, and Abraham Lincoln lodged there on the nineteenth day of April in the year of our Lord, 1831.

Leave the boat for a moment, with its snub-nose pushed out over the dam, waiting for some one to bring a borrowed auger from the mill for Abraham Lincoln to accomplish the boring of a hole which, by means which no one quite understands, is to let out the bilge water and enable the boat to float free over the dam. And consider for a moment the significance of that dam at this moment in the career of Abraham Lincoln.

If any event in human history had occurred otherwise than it did, very many subsequent events, some of them very remote, would have happened far otherwise than they did, or would not have happened at all. If Arlotta, the tanner's daughter, had remained at home on a particular morning to prepare her father's noonday meal, instead of going with the other maidens of Falaise to wash the family linen in the village brook, there would have been no William the Conqueror, and the whole history of Europe since 1066, and that of America from the time of England's first explorations of the coast, would have been profoundly modified. If Concord Creek had proved in the summer of 1828 a stream with as good a flow of water as appeared certain in the spring of that year, the Reverend James M. Cameron would have been content with the little mill he established there, and he and James Rutledge would not have founded the city of New Salem.

James M. Cameron was born in Kentucky in 1791, a son of Thomas Cameron and his wife Nancy Miller, who was a sister of Mary Ann Miller, wife of James Rutledge. Rutledge was ten years older than Cameron, but still was by marriage Cameron's uncle. Cameron was a Cumberland Presbyterian, product of the revival preaching of Reverend James McGready.*

*The founder of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church spelled his name McGready. James McGrady Rutledge and the Rutledge family, generally, adopted the shorter spelling.

The Cumberland Presbyterian system combined the Presbyterian form of government with a rejection of the Presbyterian Calvinistic theology. It also emphasized the spiritual as over against the intellectual qualities of the older Presbyterial faith as essential to the preaching of the Gospel. Of this faith Cameron became a preacher. Cameron was a man of great physical strength and of upright life.*

James Rutledge was born in South Carolina, but, moving westward, came under the same religious influence which determined the career of Cameron. He was married to Mary Ann Miller by Reverend James McGready, January 25, 1808. Rutledge was a man of distinguished family connections, a man of generous nature and impulsive kindness, given to hospitality, and sincerely religious.† Cameron and Rutledge both entered land on Sand Ridge in that part of Sangamon which is now Menard County, Illinois, February 8, 1828, and Cameron began his mill on Concord Creek. The neighborhood was attractive. The people were nearly all Cumberland Presbyterians, the old Concord Church having already been established by Reverend John McCutcheon Berry, father of the worthless William F. Berry who was later Lincoln's partner. The church was located, not where the building now stands, but more than a mile from there, on the farm of McGrady Rutledge, a nephew of James. The neighborhood seemed ideal to these devout people, and they would have been content to live and die there if the water of Concord Creek had proved adequate.†

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*After the failure of New Salem, Cameron and his family moved to Fulton County, Illionois, and thence to Iowa. They went to California in 1849. Mrs. Cameron died there in 1875, and her husband in 1878.

†James Rutledge died December 3, 1835, in the Cameron house on Sand Ridge, which, as also his own house and farm in that locality, had become the property of John McNamar. His widow and her children moved to Fulton County, Illinois, and later to Birmingham, Iowa, where she died aged ninety-one, December 26, 1878, in the home of her daughter, Nancy Rutledge Prewitt. Mary Ann (Miller) Rutledge was born October 21, 1787.

‡John McCutcheon Berry was born in Virginia, March 22, 1788. He was a soldier in the War of 1812. He was licensed to preach by Logan Presbytery in Tennessee in 1819, and ordained by the same body in 1822. He removed to Illinois immediately after his ordination, and settled in the Rock

But the summer of 1828 proved to their sad satisfaction that Concord Creek was no place for a mill; and so, holding to their farms on Sand Ridge, Cameron and Rutledge entered a new tract of land, July 29, 1828, and there projected their ambitious scheme.

This new venture had nothing less than the damming of the mighty Sangamon itself, and establishing upon its banks a new and ideal community, with a Biblical name, being indeed no other than the ancient name of Jerusalem.

Considerations of utility had their place in the selection of the site of New Salem, but neither Cameron nor Rutledge could have been blind to the beauty of the spot. The Sangamon flowing through level meadows varied with forests of oak, ash, hickory and basswood, winds a portion of its way between bluffs that on one side reach a height of a hundred feet. The stream, flowing northwesterly, makes a westward bend and strikes this bluff and is deflected in an abrupt northward turn, then winds around so that with an inflowing tributary it leaves a promontory which is virtually a peninsula. This elevation is two hundred and fifty feet wide where it fronts the stream, and gradually widens until it finds the upland level of the surrounding country. Beautiful for situation, and a joy to the beholder, was this new Mount Zion on the sides of the north, the city of a new hope.

To dam the Sangamon was no small undertaking. First of all, an act of the Legislature must be secured, permitting the construction of a dam. This proved not to be a difficult undertaking, and was accomplished with surprising promptness. Then a thousand wagon-loads of rock must be hauled and sunk in log cribs. Even at the low cost of labor in those days, it was a

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Creek precinct in 1822 or 1823, organizing the Concord Church almost immediately. In 1838 he organized the Rock Creek Church, and became its pastor also. The original members were James Pantier and his wife Eliza (Armstrong) Pantier, William and James Rutledge, and their wives, Samuel Berry and his wife. Cameron is not known to have held a regular pastorate, but exhorted at meetings conducted by the other ministers, and on occasion himself preached. Reverend John M. Berry sorrowed deeply over his wayward son.

large task. But it was accomplished by those two men of courage and hope, and a saw- and grist-mill was erected on the new dam.

On October 23, 1829, after a full year of strenuous toil, the town was surveyed, and on Christmas Day of the same year a post-office was established with New Salem as a place to be recognized even in Washington.

And so it came to pass that, when that piece of human driftwood that bore the name of Abraham Lincoln came floating down the Sangamon on the spring tide of 1831, New Salem was on the map of the world, and the Rutledge dam was a reality which not even a boat of as flat a bottom and light a draft as that which Lincoln navigated could dispute or ignore.

The whole population of New Salem is said to have assembled to witness the predicament of the flat-boat, and to have been impressed with the ingenuity of Lincoln, who, with his trousers rolled up "about five feet," as Rowan Herndon affirmed, employed this effective method by which the boat at length floated over. The affair occupied no little time, and afforded opportunity for the beginning of pleasant acquaintanceships.

As Lincoln and Offutt discussed the matter on their month's voyage down-stream, and their month's sojourn in New Orleans, and their week's journey by steamer up to St. Louis, it became evident to Offutt that river life was too monotonous for a man of his active temperament. He determined to establish a center from which his genius could radiate, and on occasion move up and down the Sangamon, but not the length of the larger streams. And if he did this, he must have an associate who would attend to the home base while he moved freely about, conducting the large enterprises that became so great a man. And of all the places that he had seen, there was none that appeared to offer so promising a future as New Salem, and no man who appeared to combine so many of the qualities that he required as Abraham Lincoln.

Lincoln participated in all this discussion, and was deeply impressed by the sagacity and ability of Offutt. The plan was

THE SANGAMON AT NEW SALEM
Photograph by Herbert Georg

wholly to his liking. So he tarried for a month with his father and stepmother in Coles County, and then walked back to New Salem, where he expected to meet Offutt and his goods.

But as Offutt had been detained in Springfield, so was he detained in St. Louis. The goods were not at New Salem when Lincoln arrived. This did not distress Lincoln. He was fully equal to any emergency that called for leisure. He settled down to wait for the goods, and to become acquainted with New Salem and its population.

From the point of view available from our knowledge of his subsequent life, it is now easily possible to see that Lincoln was moving through a series of experiences each one of which was advancing him toward the high destiny of his ultimate greatness. But it is not to be assumed that this was apparent even to himself at the time when these experiences occurred.

The plastic material of his life was in process of formation, and even the mold in which the Lincoln of history was to be cast was in process of making. But the mold was not the man. While Lincoln fitted into his environment, and took shape from it, he was, like every strong man, master of the forces that determined the influence of his environment. Personality is still the determining factor in history.

While Lincoln waited for Offutt at New Salem, the August election occurred. He was a new arrival, but according to law and custom was entitled to vote, and vote he did. It was Lincoln's first vote. He voted for James Turney for Congress. Turney then or later was a Whig; and he was defeated by Joseph Duncan, who was then a Democrat, but some years later following his election as governor of Illinois, he became a Whig. Lincoln voted for Robert Conover and Pollard Simmons for justices of the peace, and for John Armstrong and Henry Sinco for constables.

This election was held in the house of John McNeil August 1, 1831, and it is a remarkable fact that McNeil did not vote, either at that or any subsequent election at New Salem, so far as the

preserved election returns show. Mentor Graham, the schoolmaster, was clerk of the election, and he needed help. He asked Lincoln if he could write, and Lincoln replied that he was able to "make a few chicken-tracks." He served as assistant clerk at that election, and at practically every subsequent election in New Salem, except elections where he was himself a candidate. There were always two and some times three elections a year, in April, August and November. Local officers were elected in the spring; the legislative election was held in the summer; and the national election occurred in November. Three times a year in some years appeared the names of Mentor Graham* and Abraham Lincoln as clerks, and their oaths were acknowledged before Bowling Green, Justice of the Peace.

No device would have been less popular in New Salem than the Australian ballot. Every man walked up to the polls and announced orally the names of the candidates for whom he voted. As he left, the judge of election shouted in the ears of all men that John Doe had voted for John Smith for governor, John Jones for secretary of state, John Brown for state treasurer, and so on. These votes were visibly recorded as cast. There were no printed ballots.

And New Salem voted. All except John McNeil, who, probably not to be confronted with unnecessary documentary evidence of a name about which he did not feel wholly comfortable, somehow escaped voting. John McNeil was partner with Samuel Hill in one of New Salem's stores. John McNeil was saving money. Whenever any one had anything to sell and needed money badly, John McNeil had money to pay for it at a bargain price. He was fast accumulating more than he counted prudent to hold under an assumed name. He was a prudent man, and he did not record his name on the election sheet. So though the election was held in the house of John McNeil, John McNeil did not vote.

*He invariably signed it Mentor Graham; not Minter, as it is sometimes printed, nor Menton, as Nicolay and Hay give it. In the Appendix are the complete Election Returns from the New Salem precinct.

New Salem voted. It mattered little whether Andrew Jackson was running for the presidency or Jack Kelso was running for constable, New Salem did its enthusiastic duty at the polls. It is practically possible to determine just who was resident in New Salem in any year by the election lists. We can learn just when Doctor Allen moved in and when Hardin Bale moved out by a study of these documents, duly certified by Mentor Graham and Abraham Lincoln. Except that we seek in vain to determine just when John McNeil went back to New York State and when he reassumed his real name. We must look elsewhere for that information, for John McNeil was too cautious to vote. He was saving money and investing it discreetly. He was not indulging in any bad habit, and certainly not in any expensive habit. And, though he had entered his land in the name of John McNeil, he was considering whether it would not be better to change it soon and resume his correct name. You will search the polling lists in vain for his name. But the rest of New Salem's adult male population is on record there.

While Lincoln waited for the arrival of Offutt, he had opportunity to use his knowledge of navigation. A Doctor Nelson who had been for a short time a resident of New Salem, loaded his household goods upon a boat and started down the river, his ultimate destination being Texas. He desired and obtained Lincoln's service as pilot as far as the mouth of the Sangamon. The river still was reasonably high, and the task of navigation was not difficult. Lincoln piloted the boat as far as Beardstown, was paid off, and honorably dismissed.

Good fortune further awaited him, for he found at Beardstown that Offutt's goods had arrived from St. Louis. He started walking back to New Salem expecting to convey the message to teamsters who had been engaged to transport the merchandise, but met the wagon as he journeyed, the drivers having already been notified. So he returned to New Salem with satisfaction.

Soon Denton Offutt arrived. On July 8, 1831, he took out

his license to sell goods in New Salem. On September 2, 1831, he purchased a lot as a site for the erection of his store, and he and Lincoln went to work at once to construct a building. The consideration named in the deed was ten dollars, which was a fair price for the lot.

Then the career of Lincoln and Offutt as merchants became a reality, and Offutt added one enterprise after another until he rented the Rutledge mill, and seemed likely to acquire a monopoly of all the business in New Salem. Some men of Offutt's type become great captains of industry, and, having accumulated millions, go about like roaring lions seeking what they may endow; others become bankrupts and are accounted visionaries and perhaps frauds. Offutt was a promoter. Some people did not believe in him, but Abraham Lincoln was not one of them.

In those days a new arrival in a frontier town was expected early to define his status in the matter of physical strength. Lincoln was tall, muscular and strong. He did not like to work, but he was capable of arduous labor when occasion arose. He did not like to fight, but when he fought he was a dangerous antagonist. Offutt had seen enough of Lincoln's physical strength to give him occasion to boast about it. He informed William Clary, who kept a saloon near the Offutt store, that Lincoln could outrun, outlift and outwrestle any man in the community. Clary represented a group of men known as the "Clary Grove boys," named for a strip of timber about six miles distant from New Salem. The champion of the group was one Jack Armstrong, the man for whom Lincoln had already voted as constable. Clary and Offutt made a bet of ten dollars on a wrestling match between Lincoln and Jack Armstrong. Lincoln is said to have been reluctant to engage in the match, but he found himself committed to it by the boastfulness of his employer. He soon outmastered Armstrong, and when the latter attempted to win by a foul, Lincoln picked Armstrong up bodily and threw him heavily upon the ground. There was some danger that he might have to fight the whole Clary Grove

contingent in consequence of this act, but his strength, courage, fairness and good nature won for him the admiration of the crowd, including his contestant, and Lincoln became the popular hero of the Clary Grove boys. They became his followers and most enthusiastic supporters. Hannah, Jack Armstrong's wife, and the pre-matrimonial mother of Bowling Green, became a sincere friend of Lincoln, and he later had occasion to reward her well.

Lincoln participated in several wrestling contests in New Salem, but not, so far as is known, in any fights. He was referee in wrestling matches, and his decisions were accepted on both sides as fair.

The early spring of 1832 still further increased Lincoln's popularity by his successful piloting of the steamboat *Talisman* up the Sangamon from Beardstown to Springfield. Captain A. Vincent Bogue, of Springfield, went to Cincinnati, where he procured the steamer, and her ascent of the Mississippi and the Illinois was hailed with delight. The prosperity of Springfield, New Salem and other towns along the Sangamon was believed to depend on the navigability of the river. The actual ascent of the Sangamon River by a steamboat was expected to prove beyond possibility of doubt, not only that the river was navigable, but that all towns located upon it had before them a career of great prosperity. A number of citizens of Springfield and other Sangamon towns went down to Beardstown to meet the vessel as she came from the Illinois into the Sangamon. Some of these carried axes with long handles to cut away the branches of trees along the banks of the Sangamon. Lincoln accompanied the group, and having acquired a reputation as a navigator of rivers, he and Rowan Herndon were employed as pilots. At the rate of about four miles a day the *Talisman* ascended the narrow stream. Like Lincoln's flat-boat, she stuck at the Rutledge dam, but tore away a part of it and got across. The damage done at the dam raised a vigorous protest from Cameron and Rutledge, but it does not appear to have disturbed their kindly

relations with Lincoln. The vessel found safe anchorage at Springfield, or at the point where the Sangamon most nearly approached that city. Celebrations were held, and the river towns indulged in a boom. A great ball was given in Springfield to the captain of the *Talisman* and his right good crew.* The *Talisman* succeeded in making her way back down the river, but had a warm controversy on hand with Rutledge and Cameron for damage done to their dam.

The attempt to prove that the Sangamon was a navigable stream succeeded theoretically but failed practically. The people of Springfield shouted themselves hoarse and declared that henceforth that city "could no longer be considered an inland town." Captain Bogue accepted with satisfaction all the honors thrust upon him. He knew they were the last that would ever accrue from that source. He remained in Springfield while the feasting lasted, and then prudently sailed his boat back downstream, and left the subsequent navigation of the Sangamon to other adventurers, of whom there were not many.

Lincoln earned forty dollars and considerable glory by his share in this apparently successful undertaking. He walked back from Beardstown to New Salem with his money in his pocket, richer in purse and reputation than he had been before since his arrival at the village. But the *Talisman* never came back up the river. Not long afterward she was burned at the dock in St. Louis. Suits in attachment were filed against Captain Bogue, who prudently disappeared. One other attempt to navigate the river was made, this one by the steamboat *Utility*. She did not succeed in getting above the dam, but remained at New Salem and was sold and broken up. Gradually it became clear even to the most optimistic proponent of the thesis that the Sangamon was a navigable stream that this claim must be abandoned. Lincoln and Rowan Herndon, with their forty dollars apiece, were the only men who made any money out of the navigability of the Sangamon. But a note which Lincoln gave to Captain Vincent

*Herndon says that Lincoln was not invited to the ball.

A. Bogue, on which Lincoln was afterward sued, raises a question whether Lincoln did not subscribe to the enterprise more money than he got out of it.

During Lincoln's employment by Offutt it appears that his work was largely at the mill. In the announcement of his candidacy for the Legislature, March 9, 1832, he said:

> From my peculiar circumstances, it is probable that for the last twelve months I have given as particular attention to the stage of the water in this river as any other person in the country. In the month of March, 1831, in company with others, I conceived the building of a flat-boat on the Sangamon, and finished and took her out in the course of the spring. Since that time, I have been concerned in the mill at New Salem. These circumstances are sufficient evidence that I have not been very inattentive to the stages of the water.

His future hopes, commercial and political, depended upon the navigability of the Sangamon.

Misfortunes never come singly. Importunate creditors began to press the optimistic Offutt, and he had no money to pay them. Whatever his qualifications in the sphere of finance, they were not such as fitted him to settle down to the keeping of a country store, and Lincoln, to whom he had trusted local matters, was not a successful merchant. There were too many stores in New Salem for its population and that of Offutt, located near the expected steamboat wharf, was farthest from the main source of revenue, if New Salem had to depend on commerce from the landward side. There came a sad day when Offutt had to confess that he could not meet his bills. His creditors took over his stock; Cameron and Rutledge took back their mill, and Offutt departed, never to return to New Salem.

Doubtless his competitors and other wise men of New Salem were ready to affirm that they had felt sure all the time that Offutt was too much of a braggart to be a good business man. Offutt's name after his downfall was held in little regard in New Salem. In the day of his glory it might have stood against all

competitors, but after his failure there was none so poor to do him reverence. But Lincoln parted from him in real sorrow. Whatever losses others had suffered through trusting him, Lincoln knew that Offutt had rendered him a lasting service. He had given Lincoln a larger vision of life and inspired him with a new confidence in his own powers.

Offutt was heard from in New Salem now and again. He went south, and devoted his energies to the training of wild and refractory horses. He gave public exhibitions of his own skill in subduing horses brought to him, and then imparted the secret to farmers at five dollars each, requiring an oath not to reveal the secret. It was said that he had a magic word that he whispered in the horse's ear. A modern psychologist might explain the potency of this word by the reflex action upon the farmer, giving him new confidence which the beast felt and submitted to. It was said that Offutt went from town to town, and appearing on the street, wore over his well cut coat a sash that decorated his right shoulder and fastened with a rosette under his left arm. Wherever he went, he was a life-sized advertisement of Denton Offutt.

It is pleasant to be able to add one authentic incident to those on record concerning Denton Offutt. In the year 1856 a young man from Petersburg named Thomas W. McNeeley, went south to teach a select school on a Mississippi plantation. On a Saturday he went with his employer to the town of Woodworth some miles away, a part of the attraction being the exhibition advertised to be given by a tamer of wild horses. Each planter who had a vicious horse took him to town, and the tamer had remarkable success with them all. He used his whip and spur very sparingly; but began with a little preliminary petting, then whispered something in the horse's ear and mounted. The planters knew their own and each other's horses and knew that whatever Offutt's secret might be, there was no question about his control over the animals he rode. Five-dollar notes in considerable numbers went to his hospitable pockets, and Offutt im-

parted his secret to each man who paid him. Whether the farmers got their money's worth may have depended on whether they approached men and horses with the same happy assurance that characterized Offutt.

After the exhibition was over McNeeley sought Offutt, whose name he had often heard, and told him that he was from Petersburg, and knew many people whom Offutt had known. Offutt expressed great delight in meeting him, and inquired about his old neighbors, and especially about Lincoln, of whom he had heard now and then. McNeeley told him that Lincoln had become quite a famous man in central Illinois, and Offutt was quite ready to believe it. He sent a verbal message to Lincoln. Soon after his return to Petersburg, the young man had occasion to ride over to Springfield, and seeking out a friend who had an office in the court-house he asked for an introduction to Lincoln. Lincoln welcomed news from Offutt, and greatly enjoyed the story of Offutt's performance. The young man still had his message to deliver, and, as he talked with Lincoln, he had a growing reluctance to deliver it; for he began to fear that Lincoln would be displeased with a message that reflected on his own profession. Said he:

"Mr. Offutt gave me a message to deliver to you, but I hardly know whether I ought to deliver it or not."

"Tell it to me," said Lincoln. "Tell it just as Offutt said it."

"He told me to say to you, 'Tell Lincoln to get out of his rascally business of politics and law, and do something honest, like taming horses.' "

Lincoln laughed immoderately at this word from his old friend:

"That's Offutt," he said. "That's just like Offutt."

Lincoln, out of employment, or soon to become so, decided to enter politics. That was a simple matter in 1832. One had no need to wait for nomination by convention; nor did a man feel

shame in publishing in the local newspapers an announcement that he was a candidate. A candidate was expected to declare his convictions, and it was the custom to issue a circular setting forth the candidate's principles. This Lincoln proceeded to do in a circular probably printed in Springfield, and bearing date of March 9, 1832. In this declaration of principles he undertook to discuss the leading questions of the day as understood by his constituents. Although he had been reared a Jackson Democrat, he favored national banks, which was a distinctive test of the Whigs. Yet one does not discover in his political career any indications that his principles at this time were those which distinguished the Whigs from the Locofoco Democrats. He favored a high protective tariff, and of course, was an ardent advocate of internal improvements and river navigation. This was Lincoln's strong point. He favored a law against usury; but considering that men who had the most need of money could not obtain it unless they paid usurious interest, he wrote this amazing paragraph:

In cases of extreme necessity, there could always be found means to cheat the law; while in all other cases it would have its intended effect. I would favor the passage of a law on this subject which might not be very easily evaded. Let it be such that the labor and difficulty of evading could only be justified in cases of the greatest necessity.*

From this and other portions of his circular, it is evident that Lincoln had not thought through all, or perhaps any, of the questions which in this first political pronunciamento, he felt compelled to discuss. The remarkable fact is, not that his letter announcing his candidacy was a crude performance, but that it was not far more crude. It can but surprise us to remember that this uncouth backwoodsman, barely twenty-three years of age, who

*John McNeil, subsequently known by his true name of John McNamar, later professed to have assisted Lincoln in preparing this circular. I think the statement not wholly untruthful, and it is my opinion that this paragraph on money shows the influence of John McNamar.

less than a year before had stepped off a flat-boat into New Salem, should have announced himself as a candidate for the General Assembly. He proclaimed himself as in favor of education, which he called the most important subject before the people. He believed that every man, no matter how poor, should be able to procure for himself and his children at least sufficient education "to read the Scriptures and other works both of a moral and religious nature." The concluding paragraphs of his address are the most personal and most interesting part of this strange but remarkable document. They have in them real promise of the Lincoln of the future.

But, fellow-citizens, I shall conclude. Considering the great degree of modesty which should always attend youth, it is probable I have already been more presuming than becomes me. However, upon the subjects of which I have treated, I have spoken as I have thought. I may be wrong in regard to any or all of them; but, holding it as a sound maxim that it is better only sometimes to be right than at all times to be wrong, so soon as I discover my opinions to be erroneous, I shall be ready to renounce them.

Every man is said to have his peculiar ambition. Whether it be true or not, I can say, for one, that I have no other so great as that of being truly esteemed of my fellow-men by rendering myself worthy of their esteem. How far I shall succeed in gratifying this ambition is yet to be developed. I am young, and unknown to many of you. I was born, and have ever remained, in the most humble walks of life. I have no wealth or popular relations or friends to recommend me. My case is thrown exclusively upon the independent voters of the county; and, if elected, they will have conferred a favor upon me for which I shall be unremitting in my labors to compensate. But if the good people in their wisdom shall see fit to keep me in the background, I have been too familiar with disappointments to be very much chagrined.

But hardly had Lincoln announced his candidacy for the Legislature when an event occurred which, if it did not modify, at least postponed his adventure into politics.

CHAPTER XI

THE BLACK HAWK WAR
APRIL-JULY, 1832

This earth has no nook or cranny where savagery may lurk secure from the ultimate inrush of progress. Civilization advances upon savagery with a pistol in its belt and a pill-box in its pocket, a Bible in one hand and a bottle of rum in the other. Savagery has its choice, but it must be civilized by the one method or the other, or move beyond the borders of the map. This is a painful process, often fatal to the savage and demoralizing to the man who undertakes to civilize him. What Kipling calls "the White Man's Burden" is indeed a burden. It is the burden of making the world safe for civilization; and that process goes on more rapidly than the process of making civilization safe for the world. All in all we pay a high price for what we call culture. Said Thoreau, "We exterminate the deer, and we cultivate the hog." That is only a part of what we do.

The American Indian is the most picturesque savage on the face of the earth. The French managed to live among the Indians more successfully than the English and Americans have even yet learned to do. From the beginning the English immigrants regarded the Indians with terror and hatred; and the story of their relationships has been long and bloody, and it does not make pleasant reading.

Black Hawk was in many respects a truly noble red man. He compels the reluctant admiration of the student of history. Long after the white man had settled in Southern Illinois, scorning the treeless prairies of the northern portion of the state, Black

Hawk lived secure in the Rock River country, and came and went, and believed that territory to be his own. He had what Fitz Greene Halleck attributed to Red Jacket—

"Love for thy land as if she were thy daughter,"

without possessing to quite the same degree Red Jacket's

"Hatred of missionaries and cold water."

The time came when Black Hawk and the white man could not equally own the Rock River country, and then came the trouble.

Black Hawk, whose Indian name as given in his *Autobiography* was Ma-ka-tai-she-kia-kiak, was born in 1767, on the north bank of the Rock River, about three miles above where it empties into the Mississippi. Illinois has few spots more beautiful. Black Hawk was a full-blooded Sac Indian, five feet and eleven inches tall in his moccasins, rather broad and very powerful, but slender, weighing only about one hundred forty pounds. He had a high forehead and a Roman nose, high cheek-bones and a sharp chin. The height of the forehead was emphasized by the plucking of the hair from the entire scalp except the scalp-lock, in which he wore a bunch of eagle feathers. His mouth was full, and tended to remain open. At fifteen he distinguished himself by wounding an enemy, and thenceforth became a brave, and was permitted to paint and to wear feathers. In 1783 he took his first scalp, and had a share in the scalp-dance. From this time on he kept his tomahawk red.

By the Treaty of 1804, the Illinois lands of the Sacs were ceded to the United States Government. Black Hawk maintained that the Indians who signed this treaty had no authority to do so. Moreover, he maintained, his reason taught him that land could not be sold: the Great Spirit gave it to his children for their equal enjoyment. Black Hawk, if he were now living, could find many men of learning who would share his view. The

Indians removed beyond the Mississippi, but were accustomed to return every year, to follow up the Rock River, and spend some time at their old village near its mouth. There was the grave of Black Hawk's daughter; and there he mourned long for her.

"The white people brought whiskey to our village," said Black Hawk in his *Autobiography,* "they made our people drunk and cheated them out of their horses, guns and traps. I visited all the whites and begged them not to sell my people whiskey. One of them continued the practise openly; I took a party of my young men, went to his house, broke in the head of the barrel, and poured out the whiskey. I did this for fear some of the whites might get killed by my people when they were drunk."*

The white people also had their grievances, and very real ones. They were endeavoring to make homes on land which they had preempted from the government, to which it had been conveyed by treaty from the Indians. And when the break came, it was bloody and cruel.†

The year 1831 brought increasing friction between the Indians and white men. In the spring of 1832 it became evident not only that Black Hawk would return to the lands from which the treaty and subsequent orders had prohibited his occupation, but that he was organizing for war. On April 16, 1832, Governor John Reynolds issued a call for the militia of the State of Illinois to rendezvous at Beardstown on the twenty-second. The governor himself, proud of a military career and the popular soubriquet of "the Old Ranger," accompanied the expedition whose purpose was to move from the southern and central portions of the state, where the population chiefly was, into the Rock River country, and to drive the Indians back to their

**Autobiography of Black Hawk,* p. 73.

†This work attempts no history of the Black Hawk War. Its story has been written by others. Honorable Perry A. Armstrong wrote it in a spirit of sincere appreciation of the Indian's wrongs, suffered at the hands of the white man. A more discriminating work is that by Frank E. Stevens. *The Autobiography of Black Hawk,* in which the editor, J. B. Patterson, modestly called himself the amanuensis, must owe not a little to the editor; but it is a work of remarkable interest.

reservation across the Mississippi. Black Hawk came for war, and he began at once his movement up the Rock River. The troops gathered at Dixon, where the pioneer John Dixon had a ferry. The first fight was at Stillman Valley, and resulted in the killing of eleven white men, and the precipitate retreat of the rest back to Dixon. Then came the Indian Creek massacre, and the captivity of the Hall sisters, and the attack on Apple River. In the first conflicts the Indians had matters their own way. The stories of their atrocities terrified the settlers, and gave to Illinois a fright that was hardly less than a panic. But the war had begun, and it could have but one end.

The events connected with the Black Hawk War appear small through the mists of the years. A forlorn band of Indians undertook a completely hopeless attempt to win back their land by bloodshed, and they went down to inevitable defeat. It might seem to us that no community living a day's march outside the actual field of probable encounter need have disturbed itself greatly over a situation that must so soon be settled and in the only way in which it could be settled. But that was not as matters looked in Illinois in 1832. The settlers confronted what seemed to them the most terrible uprising of Indians since the massacre at Fort Dearborn. All their hereditary fear and hatred of the Indians awoke. All the savage instincts which lie dormant in the civilized breast broke forth with the first suggestion of actual conflict with savages. The volunteers were filled with valor and were ready to bring back the scalps of as many savages as might be.

Abraham Lincoln had returned from New Orleans, and had taken up his abode in New Salem, and distributed his hand-bills announcing himself as a candidate for the Legislature when the proclamation of the governor turned his thought toward a different kind of employment and another sort of glory. He volunteered immediately, and so did a considerable number of his associates in and about New Salem. The Clary Grove gang was there almost to a man. An election was held for captain. Will-

iam Kirkpatrick, the man for whom Lincoln had worked in a saw-mill as the Offutt flat-boat was in process of construction, and who had treated Lincoln ungenerously in the matter of the furnishing of a cant-hook to lighten his labor, was a candidate. Lincoln entered the lists against him, and had the great joy of winning. No victory in later life ever gave him so much satisfaction. Lincoln's first sergeant was Jack Armstrong, his early rival in New Salem, and ever since his thrashing, Lincoln's firm friend.

In the Black Hawk War Lincoln may have met Captain Zachary Taylor, whom later he warmly supported as president of the United States. He certainly met Major Robert Anderson, who later came into prominence as the defender of Fort Sumter. Persistent tradition declares that he was mustered into service by a young officer in the Regular Army, Lieutenant Jefferson Davis. This tradition has been repeated so often it is almost cruel to deny it. Lincoln himself is said to have come to think that it might be true. On May ninth, Lincoln's company was sworn into the service of the United States Government by General Henry Atkinson.* Twenty days later, when he again enlisted, and was sworn in at Ottawa, it was Lieutenant Robert Anderson who administered the oath.

The end of the Black Hawk War came in the battle of Bad

*Mr. Stevens in his book on the Black Hawk War reluctantly disproved the Jefferson Davis story, saying that he gave it up with great regret, as his early home was in Dixon and he had heard and believed that story all his life. I was born in the same county. The "army trail" through Knox Grove was still visible in my boyhood. Abraham Lincoln and his company, on their first night out of Ottawa, May twenty-seventh, camped a little south and east of my birthplace. Shabbona, the devoted friend of the white man, camped often on Bureau Creek on the land of my grandfather; and my father as a boy participated in one wolf-hunt with Shabbona, and once afterward, meeting him in Chicago, went with him to buy fish-hooks, and fished with him in Chicago River. Stories of the Black Hawk War were abundant in my youth, three years of which were spent on the site of Stillman's first battle. I would be very glad to believe, what I heard a hundred times in my youth, that the first time Abraham Lincoln had occasion to make oath that he would support the Constitution of the United States, the oath was administered by Jefferson Davis. But even though the oath was administered by another officer, Abraham Lincoln kept his promise, and Jefferson Davis discovered the fact.

Axe in Wisconsin, August 1, 1832. The Indians were surrounded and defeated with great slaughter. Black Hawk escaped, but later was captured. The Indians were forever driven from the Rock River country. Illinois became the undisputed land of the white man.

Black Hawk made two journeys to the East. He witnessed a balloon ascension in New York City and had a reception at Philadelphia and another in Washington. Thoroughly impressed with the vastness of the country and the impossibility of the Indians driving the white man out of it, he returned to Iowa where a reservation had been assigned to him, and was released from imprisonment. He died in October, 1838. It had been well for him if he had continued to remember the earnest protest which he made in earlier years against the white man's furnishing liquor for the Indians. Black Hawk now and then in his later years was the worse for drink. In his last days his relations with the white man were friendly, but he never forgave his Indian associate Keokuk for not standing by him in his fight against the white man. Black Hawk's widow, Singing Bird, did not long survive her husband.

Lincoln's military experience was brief. His election as captain was confirmed at Beardstown, April 21, 1832. His company formed a part of the fourth regiment of mounted volunteers in General Whitesides' brigade. They moved from Beardstown to Rock Island, and thence up Rock River to Dixon, and thence to the site of Stillman's battle and defeat in Ogle County. Returning to Dixon, they were marched south to Ottawa at the mouth of Fox River, where, their term of enlistment having expired, the company was disbanded on May 27, 1832. Lincoln immediately reenlisted as a private in Captain Alexander White's company, where his name appears on the roll as of May twenty-sixth. For some reason Lincoln did not go out with this company but on the following day he enrolled in Captain Elijah Iles' company for a period of twenty days. On June sixteenth, this company was mustered out. On the same day, Lincoln reenlisted in

Captain Jacob M. Earley's company. He was honorably discharged and mustered out at Whitewater, Wisconsin, July 10, 1832.

Lincoln was not in any battle. His company arrived at Kellogg's Grove on June twenty-fifth, shortly after a skirmish in which five men were killed. He helped to bury these men. As a disciplinarian he was not a pronounced success. He was once arrested and deprived of his sword for a day for firing his gun within fifty yards of camp. On another occasion he was compelled to wear a wooden sword for two days because some members of his company broke into the officers' quarters, and consumed a quantity of liquor and were unable to march with the regiment on the following morning. He himself afterward told amusing stories of his own ignorance of military terms. Many stories, supposed to be amusing, are related of this campaign, but most of them are spurious. He was not a great soldier; but he was popular both as officer and private.

The only incident which has come down to us out of Lincoln's military experience which shows the full quality of his manhood, relates to a friendly Indian, said to have been Shabbona, who had come to the camp with a pass from General Cass. Lincoln's men held to the theory that the only good Indian was a dead one, and proposed to kill this visitor. Lincoln intervened and saved the life of this virtuous and heroic chief, beloved as the white man's friend. The undisciplined hatred of the militia nearly cost him his life, but Lincoln's humanity and courage saved it. The story appears to be well authenticated, and it is characteristic of Lincoln. It deserves to be true, and there is good reason to believe that it is true.

On the night preceding his final discharge, Lincoln's horse, a borrowed one, was stolen, and he was obliged to walk from Whitewater, Wisconsin, to Dixon, and thence to Peoria, except as now and then he was helped by a ride of a mile or two by some more fortunate friend. At Peoria, he and a comrade, who appears to have been Major John T. Stuart, of Springfield,

bought a canoe, and paddled down the Illinois River to Havana, where they sold the canoe, and walked, Stuart to Springfield and Lincoln back to New Salem.

The Black Hawk War does not appear to have been one of the great turning points of Lincoln's career. It was soon over, and he went back to New Salem, and took up his then uneventful career just where he had left it. His military experience did not measurably enhance his political popularity, nor did it open for him any other avenue into life than those that were already available.

But the war was not without advantage to him. He made friends who continued to be his associates in subsequent years, including his first law-partner, John T. Stuart. He learned something of the handling of troops, and of the difficulties of providing them with munitions and supplies. In the Civil War his scant but suggestive military experience came to him and sometimes made him wiser than his generals. It was a small and short war, and at the time it did not seem greatly to have affected the career of Lincoln; but it had its value in his training.

Lincoln never pretended that his enlistment and service in the Black Hawk War was conclusive evidence of his patriotism. Of that patriotism he was able to give other and larger proof. He was young, strong, free and unemployed when the call for volunteers came, and he did his duty. Years afterward, in Congress, he made a speech in which he talked humorously of his military bravery, and told of the blood he had lost through mosquito bites in his experience as a soldier. The experience was good for him. It gave him new proof of his power to command the admiration and loyal support of men. It gave him employment for a few weeks when he was out of work. It sent him back to New Salem in time for the election which was to determine whether his first venture into politics would be as successful as his first appearance as a military leader. For Lincoln was still a candidate for the Legislature. One only reference to his campaign appears to have been made in the Springfield papers, and that was

a statement that Captain Lincoln was serving with his company in the war, and had left the issues of the campaign in the hands of his friends. That was a safe place in which to leave them, even if he could not win his first election. In the long run, Abraham Lincoln ran little risk in trusting his future to the people.

CHAPTER XII

POLITICIAN AND POSTMASTER
1832-1833

It is interesting to note that the popular opprobium which gathered about the memory of Denton Offutt in New Salem did not attach itself also to Abraham Lincoln, Offutt's clerk. Lincoln was still popular in New Salem. That is a significant fact. It speaks much for his qualities of solid worth that his association with the now discredited Offutt did not cause New Salem to suggest to him that he pack his few belongings and leave when Offutt left. New Salem and its Clary Grove suburb had effective ways of making a suggestion of this character. New Salem liked Lincoln, and Lincoln liked New Salem. He cast about for employment. The commercial condition of New Salem offered him no immediate opening as a storekeeper, and the river gave him no promise as a navigator. It was less than a year since he first had seen New Salem, and he had no acquaintance in the legislative district outside of that microscopic municipality, but he unblushingly announced himself a candidate for the Legislature. Those do greatly err who believe that at any period in his career Abraham Lincoln was handicapped by modesty.

Rudyard Kipling in an address at Oxford in 1924, cautioned the Rhodes scholars then there assembled against the infection of weak souls with "the middle-aged failings of toleration, impartiality or broad-mindedness." There were no such symptoms of premature senility in New Salem. It was a place of opinions, not held in the poise of static toleration, but fought for in the free arena of public discussion. New Salem did not want its candidates to be modest.

As has already been noted, Lincoln announced himself a candidate for the Legislature on March 9, 1832. His absence from New Salem on account of the Black Hawk War covered the period from about April nineteenth to an unknown date in the end of July. The election for which he announced himself a candidate took place August sixth. Lincoln had little time for electioneering. He probably had not lost anything of his political popularity by his military career, although to his credit it deserves to be said that he never afterward attempted to make political capital out of his military experience, and that he never assumed for political effect or traded in his title of captain.

His first political speech was at Pappsville, following an auction sale. The speech was interrupted by a fight, and Lincoln left the platform to interfere on behalf of one of his friends who was getting the worst of it. Lifting his enemy bodily, he flung him flat upon the ground, remounted the platform, and finished his speech. This incident helped him more than any oratory could have done. A few days later he made a speech at Springfield with Major John T. Stuart as a candidate with him on the same ticket.

Lincoln's opponent in this election was Reverend Peter Cartwright, an able itinerant Methodist preacher, and a politician of experience and ability. Lincoln was defeated, and he afterward said it was the only time in his life when he was defeated by a direct vote of the people. The surprising fact is, not that Lincoln did not succeed in his first political venture, but that he should have run so well against so able and so justly popular an opponent. Although Lincoln was a Whig, if his political status could be defined at that period of his development, and Lincoln's friends at New Salem and Clary's Grove were Democrats, he received two hundred and seventy-seven out of the two hundred and ninety votes cast at New Salem, and he laid the foundation for subsequent political success.

The morning of the seventh of August, 1832, found Lincoln a defeated candidate for the Legislature. His career as a military

hero was also at an end. His commercial venture with Denton Offutt had terminated disastrously. Lincoln was out of employment. He sought again to become a clerk in a retail store. There were no vacant clerkships. The small stocks of merchandise in New Salem, however, changed hands with rapidity, and though he might not be a clerk, he easily found opportunity to become a proprietor. Two of the Herndon brothers, cousins of his subsequent law partner, owned a store in New Salem. One brother sold his half interest to William F. Berry. The other brother, Rowan Herndon, who had been Lincoln's co-partner as a pilot on the *Talisman,* became dissatisfied with Berry as a partner, and sold his interest to Lincoln, who gave his note in payment of the purchase price. Another store, owned by the Chrisman brothers, had failed, and James Rutledge had taken a portion of their stock of groceries on a debt. This stock was purchased by Berry and Lincoln, who gave their note in payment. A little later, Reuben Radford, another merchant, incurred the enmity of the Clary Grove boys, and found it profitable to move. Berry and Lincoln acquired this stock also, and gave more notes. Berry and Lincoln ought to have made a success of their approach to monopoly. But they still had competition in Samuel Hill, and Berry was his own best customer in the consumption of liquor. After a time Lincoln sold his interest in the store to Berry, accepting Berry's notes in payment. Not long after this Berry dropped out of the business and later died insolvent. Lincoln assumed the debts of the firm, and it was many years before he succeeded in paying them.

The Offutt failure must have had a depressing effect upon nearly every one in New Salem. That and the hopelessness of expecting the navigation of the Sangamon, must have warned some far-visioned men that the town was doomed. One man appears to have appreciated the danger. That was John McNeil, the thrifty partner of Samuel Hill. Their store had been in operation for three successful years, doing business at a profit of about seventy-five per cent., and John McNeil had saved his share

of the money. Trade had fallen off with the advent of Offutt's competition; and McNeil saw that even with Offutt out of the way, business was not likely to be what it had been. He told his partner that he had left his aged parents in New York State, and felt it his duty to return to them. He sold out his half of the store to Hill, and sold while the price was good. John McNeil was accustomed to do things that way.

Rutledge and Cameron took back the mill, and they were pressed for working capital. They had to sell either their interests in New Salem or their farms on Sand Ridge. They chose the latter, and chose unwisely. There was one man who had ready money to assist men in the situation of Cameron and Rutledge. That man was John McNeil. He bought both farms at rock-bottom prices and provided the money with which the founders of New Salem kept afloat a little longer their hopeless enterprise.

John McNeil did not go to Bowling Green to have him make out the deeds. Abraham Lincoln had begun to study law, and would do it cheaper. To him, and thereafter to others, John McNeil had now to make an explanation.

His name, he told Lincoln, was not McNeil but McNamar. He had left home when his father failed in business, and had changed his name to prevent his unfortunate relatives finding him and hindering him, by their appeals for assistance, in his ambition to become rich. He was rich now; for he had accumulated ten thousand dollars in three years, and he proposed to resume his true name, go back to New York State, find his parents and return with them to New Salem. He wanted the deeds made out to John McNamar.

We shall have occasion in due time to relate the story of Ann Rutledge. The point which now should be definitely fixed in mind is that according to legal papers in which his name appears, John McNamar was living in New Salem under the name of McNeil as late as November 4, 1831. Cameron became hard pressed for money and sold his Concord land to "John McNamar, Jr.," De-

cember 9, 1831. The same enterprising man, John McNamar, bought the Rutledge farm at Sand Ridge, at a bargain price, July 26, 1832. The change of name appears to have been held in confidence after the first and until the second deed. Soon after the second purchase McNamar left New Salem. He was careful afterward not to be too certain about the date, saying, "I left the county in 1832 or 1833—I returned in 1835." He left in the summer or early autumn of 1832. We now know within five weeks the time when McNamar resumed his lawful name. It was between November 4 and December 9, 1831. After the date of December 9, 1831, Abraham Lincoln knew and the Rutledge and Cameron families knew, and by July 26, 1832, all New Salem must have known, that John McNamar had been living among them under an assumed name; but by the time this knowledge had become public, John McNamar's concern for his parents had tardily occurred to him, and he had ridden away to New York State to bring them back and share with them the prosperity of New Salem.

He made no haste about returning. Like the Detroit colored man who, hearing that the world was coming to an end, prepared to move across into Canada until the world got done ending, John McNamar resolved to trust no penny of his ten thousand dollars in New Salem, nor to return till its fortunes got better or worse. As for the land he owned on Concord Creek and Sand Ridge and elsewhere, that would not suffer by reason of his absence; it was steadily rising in value.

Thus John McNamar was not among those who suffered by the failing fortunes of New Salem; nor did he, like Lincoln, proceed to invest in grocery stores in that place after Offutt failed. Neither did he sell his half of the Hill stock to Lincoln. Lincoln could only give his notes; John McNamar was accustomed to sell for cash.

So Lincoln and Berry had only one competitor in the retail business in New Salem, and that one was Samuel Hill.

Lincoln's position as a merchant brought him appointment as

postmaster at New Salem. The post-office was established on December 25, 1829, with Samuel Hill as postmaster. He was succeeded by Isaac P. Chrisman, who began his duties on November 24, 1831. On the failure of Chrisman Brothers Hill again became postmaster. He grew unpopular with the women of New Salem, who claimed that he neglected them while he was attending to the sale of liquor. Lincoln's appointment grew out of a petition asking for the removal of Hill and the appointment of Lincoln. Lincoln's commission was dated May 7, 1833, and he continued to be postmaster until the office was discontinued in 1836. The business of the office was small, and the remuneration trifling, but Lincoln was in no position to despise the day of small things. Gladly he accepted the few dollars which the office paid, and when his partnership with Berry failed, he transported the post-office to the store of Samuel Hill, in which store Lincoln became a clerk.

There was not very much to transport. Lincoln was in the habit of carrying the letters in his hat. If the people to whom they were addressed were not at the post-office when the mail arrived, Lincoln provided a free rural delivery of his own. He carried the letters around to their several owners, in no wise reluctant to make a little visit and swap a story or two in connection with the process.

He was never very anxious to have newspapers called for promptly. He liked to have time to read the papers before he delivered them.

His service as postmaster gave to the community various opportunities of proving his honesty. Several incidents are related, which, however they may vary in detail from strict accuracy, have this at least to justify them, that they show how well established was Lincoln's reputation in this early day for truthfulness and honor. It was in New Salem that he acquired the popular name of "Honest Abe." That name he never lost.

CHAPTER XIII

SURVEYOR AND LAWMAKER
1834-1835

THE compensation of the postmaster of New Salem was proportionate to the responsibilities of the office. No one connected with the Post Office Department is now able to tell what remuneration Lincoln actually received for his services. But it was small, and Lincoln picked up a day's work wherever he could to help him to pay his board. He considered becoming a blacksmith, but decided instead to study surveying. Already he knew a little about law; and he was studying with an ardor greater than he had known before.

Among the friendships which Lincoln formed in New Salem, one of the most important was that of Mentor Graham, the school-teacher. From the date of the election, August 1, 1831, Graham became interested in him and directed his studies in grammar and other subjects. Kirkham's grammar is a volume which makes a modern text-book on the subject look like a treatise for the feeble-minded. Lincoln studied this volume with some protest at the beginning, but with increasing appreciation of its value. A self-educated young man who could take up and master that work with only incidental assistance deserves credit for no small power of application.

Lincoln at this time was given to writing treatises on a rather wide variety of subjects; some of these Graham read and corrected.

Partly under Graham's instructions, Lincoln obtained his knowledge of surveying. Graham taught him the rudiments of this science, and Lincoln learned as he labored. John Calhoun, at that time surveyor of Sangamon County, appointed Lincoln

his deputy. Lincoln became a skilful and accurate surveyor. A number of his surveys are preserved, and the work shown in his handwriting is painstaking and neat. Both the county surveyors under whom Lincoln served were men who rose to distinction.*

Lincoln's surveying was remunerative; it enabled him to make some small payments on the Lincoln and Berry notes. But all of his fees as surveyor and his emoluments as postmaster and the small sums he received for drawing contracts and other legal papers, were less than enough to pay his very modest living expenses and to meet the notes which from time to time matured and were presented for payment. Now and then Lincoln performed manual labor in the harvest field and was very glad of the small wage which his toil brought him.

Lincoln was now in a position where he could have made a living, but he was burdened with the debts incurred through his partnership with Berry. The firm of Lincoln and Berry purchased a stock of goods from Reuben Radford, and executed the firm's note, October 19, 1833, for $379.82. This note was assigned by Radford to Peter Van Bergen. He, alone of Lincoln's creditors, declined to wait for payment, and on April 7, 1834, he brought suit.†

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*John Calhoun, under whom Lincoln had his first opportunity as deputy surveyor, was born in Boston, Massachusetts, October 14, 1806. In 1830 he removed to Springfield, Illinois, and after serving in the Black Hawk War was appointed surveyor of Sangamon County. He was a Democratic representative in the Legislature of 1838 and an unsuccessful candidate for governor in 1846. He served as mayor of Springfield for three years, 1849-1851. In 1854, President Pierce appointed him surveyor general of Kansas, and he became a leader in political affairs in that territory, presiding at the Lecompton Convention. He died in St. Joseph, Missouri, October 25, 1859.

He was succeeded as surveyor of Sangamon County by Thomas M. Neale, who, on September 12, 1835, announced through the *Sangamo Journal* the appointment of John Calhoun and Abraham Lincoln as his deputies. Neale was born in 1796 in Fauquier County, Virginia. He removed to Kentucky, where he studied law, and in 1824 removed to Sangamon County, Illinois. He made the survey on the basis of which in 1825 the town of Springfield was laid out as the prospective county-seat of Sangamon County. He was three times elected county surveyor, and held that position at the time of his death, August 7, 1840.

†Various biographers assert that this suit was brought before Lincoln's friend, Bowling Green; but Honorable William H. Townsend discovered the original papers in the Sangamon Circuit Court at Springfield, as shown in his *Lincoln the Ligitant*.

It is generally supposed that by the time of this suit Berry was dead; but he was alive and was summoned August 15, 1834. Lincoln was summoned five days later. The note had been reduced by part payments to $204.82, of which under the assignment Van Bergen was entitled to $154 and Radford to the balance. On October 11, 1834, a horse was credited by Radford on the note, at an agreed value of $35.00. When the case came to trial Berry was able to pay the small balance due Radford, but Lincoln was not able to pay Van Bergen. Accordingly, judgment was rendered against Lincoln for $154 and costs. To satisfy this judgment the small worldly wealth of Abraham Lincoln was taken from him by process of law, his horse, saddle and bridle, and his surveying instruments—the means by which he had expected to be able to pay the debt.

But Lincoln always had friends. On the day of the sale, "Uncle Jimmy" Short, of Sand Ridge, bid in the property, and gave it back to Lincoln. With tears in his eyes, Lincoln thanked him. In time he repaid the debt in full. Years afterward, when Lincoln was president, he heard that "Uncle Jimmy" was in California and penniless. Thereupon, without solicitation, James Short received an appointment as Indian agent.

But the horse which had been taken on the Van Bergen execution was not fully paid for at the time. Thomas Watkins, of Petersburg, had sold the horse to Lincoln for fifty dollars, and of this amount ten dollars remained unpaid. Although few men in Sangamon County were better able to risk ten dollars, and few men more likely to pay it than Abraham Lincoln, Watkins brought suit against Lincoln in the court of Squire Edmund Greer. Fortunately, Lincoln was able to borrow ten dollars and to settle with Watkins before the case came to trial.

Those were anxious days for Lincoln. The weekly board-bill had to be met, and his friends in New Salem were not in position to extend him credit. It required his best efforts to find money for his daily needs, and the Lincoln-Berry obligation was a mill-stone constantly round his neck. Then and years afterward he called it "the National debt."

If John McNamar had been in New Salem, he would have had money. Whether he would have loaned it to Lincoln, and if so on what terms, we do not know. McNamar had been away since the autumn of 1832. It was said that one of the Rutledge girls had cared for him and was anxiously looking for a letter from him; but the letter did not arrive. Her parents, and for that matter, the people of New Salem generally, had come to think ill of McNamar; and they were inclined to believe that the poor excuse he had given for living three years among them under a false name was not his only reason for leaving New York State. But Lincoln knew that no letter came from McNamar to Ann Rutledge.

In 1834 Lincoln again announced himself as a candidate for the Legislature, and devoted a considerable part of the summer to his canvass. Lincoln told Herndon that it was more of a hand-shaking campaign than anything else. Lincoln, however, definitely committed himself to the Whig platform, and that in a Democratic district. He won by a very large plurality. Sangamon was a large county, and entitled to four representatives in the Legislature. Lincoln stood second among the successful candidates. It usually has been stated that Lincoln's name led the list, but Herndon shows that while Lincoln had thirteen hundred and seventy-six votes, Dawson had thirteen hundred and ninety. The error of those historians who gave Lincoln first place was in reading Dawson's total vote of 1390 as 1370. Even with this slight and unimportant correction, Lincoln's vote is surprisingly large. From this time forth he never was defeated when his request for office was made to the people.

Lincoln had to borrow money to go to Vandalia, which was then the state capital. It has been alleged that he walked to his first session of the Legislature. Instead, he rode there in the stage, and was attired in a new suit of clothes. A friend loaned him two hundred dollars, and he reached the capital reasonably well clothed, and in as good a degree of physical comfort as traveling facilities of that day permitted.

Lincoln was placed upon the Committee on Public Accounts and Expenditures. It was a position for which he was singularly ill fitted. The Assembly which he entered was composed of eighty-one members. The Senate contained twenty-six and the House of Representatives fifty-five. The most of these men had been born in Kentucky, Tennessee or Virginia. There were few Frenchmen and fewer Yankees. The French were destined almost wholly to disappear and the Yankees to increase as the northern part of the state was settled.

Vandalia at this time was a town of about eight hundred inhabitants. The Methodists and Presbyterians had meeting-houses. There were two newspapers in the town, and three taverns, besides five lawyers and four physicians. The capitol building, now the court-house, was erected while Lincoln was in the Legislature, and is a dignified colonial building with a belfry. The first session attended by Lincoln was in the Methodist Church.

This Ninth General Assembly, in which Lincoln had his first experience as a lawmaker, held two sessions. The regular session in 1834-35 was important. An extra session, called in December, 1835, devoted itself in good part to the matter of internal improvements. Lincoln made no marked impression upon this legislative body.

Perhaps the most important, and certainly the most interesting, event in connection with Lincoln's first experience as a lawmaker is that there for the first time he met Stephen A. Douglas, who was present as a lobbyist. Lincoln's first impression of Douglas had chief regard to his diminutive stature. Lincoln said of him, "He is the least man I ever saw."

CHAPTER XIV

LINCOLN'S ALMA MATER
1831-1837

LINCOLN went to school, as he said, "by littles." His two short terms of schooling in Kentucky and his three in Indiana totaled less than a year of formal instruction. When he went to Congress in 1848, and filled out a concise blank whose catch words were intended to suggest the outlines of a brief biography, he entered opposite the title "Education," the single word "Defective." But when we consider him as he was toward the end of his experience in New Salem, we are impressed not so much by the meagerness of his equipment as by the extent of his preparation for a successful life.

We can not account for Lincoln's education on the theory that he was an omnivorous reader. To his associates in Indiana he thus seemed. Probably he was never as diligent or systematic as his admirers thought. In any event he ceased to be a great reader. Herndon repeatedly declares that he read less and thought more than any man in public life in his generation.

Abraham Lincoln had lived at different periods not far from Utopian cities. In 1794 a magnificent paper city named Lystra, was projected on Rolling Fork, eight or ten miles above where Thomas and Nancy Lincoln later lived on Knob Creek. Another dazzling city named Ohiopoimingo, exceeding even Lystra in magnificence, was planned to be located in Meade County only sixty miles from the Lincoln home. When in Indiana he was not very far from New Harmony. It is not known that any of these dream cities affected him appreciably. But in Illinois he

was destined to be profoundly influenced by the prairie Utopia, New Salem. New Salem greatly encouraged his love of learning. We can not pursue the history of Lincoln's six years at New Salem intelligently and confine our study to the financial adventures of the firm of Lincoln and Berry, or the vicissitudes of Denton Offutt and his rough-and-tumble encounters with the Clary Grove boys. Lincoln was in an environment that gave him adequate mental stimulus and encouragement.

Among Lincoln's friends was Jack Kelso, a peculiar, unpractical genius, who bore the reputation of having a fine education. Kelso introduced him to Shakespeare, Burns and Byron. Kelso was married but childless. He was not fond of labor, but was a good fisherman. Fishing was about the only job at which he worked industriously, and he rather resented it when any one intruded upon his vocation with an offer of remunerative employment. Lincoln had no musical ability, but had an ear for rhythm. He fished now and then with Kelso, and oftener sat with Jack and visited in the evening. Lincoln's taste in poetry up to this time had been principally for jingles, and rhymed nonsense. He began to appreciate some of the real beauties to be found in the writings of great poets.

Lincoln early formed the acquaintance and close friendship of Bowling Green. Green was a half-brother of Jack Armstrong. His father had lived in Tennessee, and his mother, whose maiden name was Nancy Potter, bore him prior to her marriage to Robert Armstrong by whom she had eight children. Bowling Green was a very large man, weighing over two hundred pounds, and had a singularly pink and white skin, his complexion being like that of a woman. He was easy-going and hospitable, and Lincoln was much in his home. Green and Lincoln both were inclined to be Whigs in a community where most men were Democrats. Green was a justice of the peace, and had a few law books which he willingly loaned to Lincoln. Lincoln for a time boarded in the home of Bowling Green. When, somewhat later,

Green died, in 1842, Lincoln was to have delivered an address at his funeral, but was overcome by emotion and could not speak.

How Lincoln acquired his first law book is disputed. Arnold affirms that in 1832, Lincoln bought at auction, in Springfield, a second-hand Blackstone's *Commentaries* and began to study law. A few weeks of hard study, and he had mastered his elementary work, and laid the foundation of a good lawyer's education; he then resolved to make the law his profession.*

The story which survives in the neighborhood of Petersburg, is that a mover passing through New Salem stopped in front of Berry and Lincoln's store, and, having in his wagon a barrel which took up room that he needed for other purposes, offered to sell it and its contents for fifty cents. Lincoln bought it and found in it, among other contents, a badly worn set of Blackstone.

By whatever process he obtained the book, he mastered it. Sometimes he lay upon the counter with his head upon a bolt of jeans cloth, diligently perusing the book. Sometimes he lay in the shade of a tree, moving around with the shadow. Sometimes he lay upon the floor, using as a sloping support the back of a chair turned down and with its four legs in the air. When Richard Yates first met him he was lying on the slope of a cellar door, studying law. He preferred to read lying down.

In this study he was not without encouragement. In his brief canvass for membership in the Legislature, he had met Stephen T. Logan and William Butler, both of Springfield, and they had encouraged him to persevere in politics and to study law. In the Black Hawk War he had come to know Major John T. Stuart, who afterward became his law partner, and who now loaned him books. Lincoln rode to Springfield to obtain these. He borrowed them one by one, beginning to read each one as he rode homeward, and reviewing it as he rode back to exchange it for another. The number of books which he read was not

**Life of Lincoln*, p. 40.

large, but it included the volumes deemed requisite in that day for a law student's preparation.

Lincoln never supposed that his preparation had been ideal. He was accustomed to refer to himself as a "mast-fed lawyer." It sometimes fell to him by appointment of a judge to examine young men for admission to the bar. On such occasions he was a very lenient examiner, and was accustomed to say, "Your Honor, I think this young man knows as much about law as I did when I began to practise, and I recommend his admission to the bar."

Among the agencies which affected Lincoln during his residence in New Salem was a debating society, organized under the direction of James Rutledge, and including in its membership the literary lights of the community. Lincoln attained considerable skill as a debater and he set himself to the work of preparation of essays on a wide variety of themes, philosophical, scientific and religious.

Although one of the founders of New Salem was a preacher of the Cumberland Presbyterian faith, and the coming of the Bale family brought two Baptist preachers, Abraham and Jacob Bale, as residents of the town, and although Peter Cartwright and other Methodist preachers came frequently and preached in the schoolhouse or in the Rutledge tavern, there was in New Salem a rather strong tendency toward what was called infidelity. Paine's *Age of Reason* and Volney's *Ruins* were in active circulation. Lincoln read them, and they were not without their influence upon his thinking. Among other essays which Lincoln wrote at this time was one a portion of whose subject-matter he derived from the reading of these books. It is alleged that Samuel Hill burned this manuscript out of tender concern for Lincoln's political future, but after a thorough investigation of the evidence upon which the story rests, I do not credit this tradition. The essay was one of a number which Lincoln wrote in that period, and none of them is preserved. We have no reason to assume that their destruction involves any serious loss. If we

may judge from Lincoln's extant compositions from this period, they were the rather sophomoric attempts of a young man to define his opinions, and his writings had a certain value in helping him to put his thoughts on paper; but none of them deserve to be considered too seriously.*

One of Lincoln's best friends in New Salem, and one of the strongest forces for righteousness, was Doctor John Allen, who came to New Salem from Vermont before August 28, 1831. He was a strict Sabbatarian, whose principles in this regard were strengthened by an incident that occurred on his westward journey. Coming down the Ohio River, he stopped on Saturday night and waited for the next boat. The boat on which he had been traveling sank next day with loss of life. Doctor Allen practised his profession on Sunday, but gave his fees for that day to religion and charity. He organized the first Sunday-school in New Salem, and was its superintendent. He organized a Temperance Society, which was looked upon with disfavor. Mentor Graham became a member; and for his membership in it was expelled from the New Salem Baptist Church; the same church meeting, by way of even-handed justice, expelled three other members for drunkenness.

New Salem had musical aspirations. Besides the usual backwoods music, it had copies of *The Missouri Harmony*, the most pretentious of musical books then in circulation in that region. It is of record that about this time Peoria introduced *The Missouri Harmony* into its church choir, and prided itself on having so notable a book. It contained a first part for use in singing schools and for general instruction in the art of singing by note, and "a choice collection of Psalm Tunes, Hymns and Anthems." It is recorded that Abraham, who was not musical, now and then essayed a song out of this book, and there is a legend that he sang out of it with Ann Rutledge.† But the only song men-

*This subject I have discussed in detail in the chapter on "Lincoln's Burnt Book" in *The Soul of Abraham Lincoln.*

†*The Missouri Harmony*, compiled by Allen D. Carden, was published at Cincinnati in 1827. I have a first edition, and it does not contain the song

tioned in connection with Lincoln's use is a mournful drinking song called "Legacy" on which Lincoln is said to have made a rather coarse parody.

The social life of New Salem in those days was a revelation to Lincoln. It was far beyond anything he had known in Spencer County, Indiana. Gentryville never supposed that it was going to become a great city. It never cherished a hope that brought to it any such group of people as made up the population of New Salem. This mushroom village on the Sangamon, which disappeared from the map almost as soon as it found a place there, combined in itself during its short lifetime, those elements which made it for Lincoln the portal to new experiences. It had almost as many different types of people as it had log cabins. There were preachers and infidels, earnest advocates of temperance like Doctor Allen, and swaggering bullies of the backwoods like the Clary Grove boys. There were men who drifted along the river, "half horse, half alligator," not all of them gamblers and thugs, but men who regarded the life of the river as providing a law of its own. There were people who made a cross instead of signing their names, and there were others who read the classics and were at home among the poets.

"Legacy." The supplement "by an amateur" adding twenty-three pieces of varied character to the two hundred pages of the original edition, was added in 1835, the year of Ann's death. The Rutledge copy was printed in 1844. There can be no doubt that this copy belonged, as it still belongs, to the Rutledge family, but it can not have been owned by them during Ann's lifetime, or Lincoln's residence in New Salem, or the residence of the Rutledges in Illinois. This book was for a time in my possession, kindly loaned to me by Reverend A. M. Prewitt, son of Nancy Prewitt, Ann's sister. We are not at liberty to suppose that Ann and Abraham sang "Legacy" out of the earlier edition, and that its place was taken later by a new copy, for the earlier edition does not contain this song. However, it was probably a song that was sung in New Salem, the old tune being that now sometimes used to the words "If I were a cassowary, on the plains of Timbuctoo." Lincoln may or may not have composed or known the parody. The story is not confirmed by the dates on the title pages of the book. However, the book was in use in New Salem, and indicates some degree of musical culture. It employed "patent notes." I have a third and completed edition printed in 1850. The shape of the book, long and narrow, made it easily destructible; and copies now are rare. One may find the words of "Legacy" and Lincoln's alleged parody in several Lives of Lincoln; but I do not quote them, for the evidence of the book does not confirm Lincoln's use of it.

In all of this remarkable heterogeneity there was a strange kind of social unity. The Rutledges were known to be related to a signer of the Declaration of Independence, and there were other people in New Salem who might have some difficulty in naming their own fathers. But it was a place where, to quote the not over-nice but accurately expressive language of the period, "kin and kin-in-law did not count a cuss." It was no disgrace to be poor, and there was little to encourage a man in making any hypocritical pretense of more piety than he actually possessed.

It is an interesting question whether Lincoln made the best possible use of his educational advantages. Judged from one point of view he certainly did not. Abraham Lincoln might have obtained a college education.

Twenty-five miles south of New Salem was Illinois College, established at Jacksonville in 1830. Edward Beecher, son of Lyman and brother of Henry Ward Beecher, was its president. Of its faculty were four graduates of Yale, two of them besides the president being men of outstanding ability, Julian M. Sturtevant and Jonathan Baldwin Turner. Illinois did not possess at the time three men of finer mind or nobler character than Beecher, Sturdevant and Turner.

Besides this there were two other colleges, one Methodist and the other Baptist. McKendree College was at Lebanon, founded by the Methodists. Peter Cartwright, who was not himself a man of college education, expected to found and head a Methodist Academy, but gave up that scheme and threw himself ardently into the support of McKendree. Shurtleff College, at Upper Alton, was established by Reverend John Mason Peck, a Baptist missionary and agent for the American Bible Society, and author of the first *Gazeteer of Illinois*. Peck represented the progressive element in the Baptist church, and was bitterly opposed by the reactionaries in his own denomination, the "hard-shells" as they were called.

Lincoln knew of all these colleges. Their founders and proponents came to Vandalia seeking charters for these new institu-

NEW SALEM RESTORED
The Rutledge Tavern and the Museum
The Lincoln and Berry store
Photographed for this work

tions. Lincoln had opportunity to know these educated Christian gentlemen, to hear them preach, and to learn of the advantages offered by their respective schools. Why did not he himself go to college? The ready answer might be that he was too old or too poor, or that he lacked the necessary preparation. None of these answers is satisfactory. All these schools had preparatory departments; each of them had students entering who were as old as he. Not only had each of them students as poor as he, but it would have been an exceptional student who was any richer. Why did not Lincoln go to college?

Some of Lincoln's associates in Illinois politics were college-bred men. Some of his friends in and about New Salem were college students. William Graham Greene, his long time and intimate friend, was a student in Illinois College in 1834-35. David Rutledge was a student in Illinois College for a part of his training in preparation for his career as a lawyer. Ann Rutledge, his sister, intended to go to the Jacksonville Female Academy, now a department of Illinois College, but died shortly before the opening of school in 1835. If Lincoln had attended any college it would have been Illinois. There he would have come to know intimately Edward Beecher, Julian M. Sturdevant and Jonathan Baldwin Turner. His anti-slavery convictions would have been strengthened, perhaps prematurely developed. What would have happened if he or both he and Ann Rutledge had gone to Jacksonville to school?

Lincoln has left us no record of his own mental processes regarding this decision. We may not cherish too confident assurance that we know what he thought about it. We are certain those are wrong who suppose that Abraham made the most of every educational opportunity, if by making the most we are to understand that he would gladly have availed himself of opportunity for further schooling. He was not too old. He was not too poor. He was not definitely obligated to the support of dependent parents. He was not too remote. He could have entered McKendree or Shurtleff or Illinois, or even Knox College, which

was organized and in full operation while he was selling goods at New Salem.

The most probable answer would seem to be that Lincoln had already committed himself to a political career, which seemed to promise him almost immediate reward, and a college course would have postponed his political activity.

If Lincoln had gone to Illinois College he would have required perhaps two years in the preparatory department, and four more to complete the college course. He would have been twenty-eight when he graduated. That would have been a long time to wait for the beginnings of a career upon whose threshold he seemed already to stand.

Six years Lincoln lived in New Salem. Those same six years would have won for him a degree as Bachelor of Arts, at Illinois or Knox.*

Equally interesting is the question, What would a college course have done for Lincoln? If Abraham Lincoln had entered Illinois or Knox, what could either of them have done for him? Would they have made a minister of him instead of a lawyer; and if so would that have been a change worth making? Would they have made him a more ardent and outspoken anti-slavery man, and if so would the ultimate interests of the anti-slavery cause have been furthered? They would have given him a much more liberal and reasonable theology than that which he had learned from backwoods Baptist preachers, and might have made it possible for him in consistency with his convictions to have united with the church, but would they have made him any better Christian? They would have taught him a great deal

*Mrs. Eleanore Atkinson in an interesting and valuable article in *Harper's Magazine* in May, 1913, said:

"Illinois College opened in the fall of 1830 as a full-fledged college, with Dr. Edward Beecher for its president, and a faculty of four graduates from the Divinity School at Yale. No allowances were made for the pioneer youth's supposed lack of advantages. The entrance requirement and the four years' work in the classic languages, mathematics, and philosophy were practically identical with those of Yale at that day. But as there was little money in that region, all these infant institutions were obliged to smooth the financial path to learning."

which he never learned and the lack of which he felt throughout his life, but would they have made him in the large sense a better educated man? If the six years which he spent in New Salem had been spent upon a college campus would he have gone forth better equipped for the great work he had to do than he was when he left New Salem penniless, burdened with debt and with his whole library and wardrobe in his saddle-bags?

These are questions we can not answer. But this we know, that, defective as was his formal instruction, Abraham Lincoln was in the larger sense of the term, an educated man.

All in all, the best thing which a college education gives to a man is his association with his teachers and fellow-students. There in the free republic of the campus he is learning how to deal with men. Lincoln learned that lesson in New Salem. New Salem has been rightly called "Lincoln's Alma Mater."

CHAPTER XV

THE LONG NINE
1836-1837

In the campaign of 1834 in which Lincoln was elected a member of the Legislature, he was understood to be a Whig. The question has already been propounded, why did he become a Whig? Not, certainly, because he inherited that faith from his father; and not because the majority of his constituents in and about New Salem were Whigs. His principles as announced at the beginning were no more those of the Whigs than they were of the Locofoco Democrats. To his relatives, the Hankses, who were Democrats, he seemed "Whiggish, but not a Whig." How had he become Whiggish? And why did he become a Whig?

A possible answer to the first of these questions has already been suggested. The friendships which Lincoln found in the Black Hawk War, with men like Major John T. Stuart, may suggest the answer to the second. Whatever the reason, Lincoln's choice of a party was deliberate and honest.

In 1834, Lincoln sought and obtained the support of Democrats as well as Whigs. Lamon affirms that he did this with the consent of Whig leaders such as John T. Stuart and Ninian W. Edwards.* But after 1834 the increase in the Whig vote in Sangamon County showed that Lincoln had made no mistake. The split in the Democratic Party between "Whole-hog" and the "Locofoco" factions, resulted in a delivery of the county to the Whigs in 1836.

On June 13, 1836, Lincoln published in the *Sangamo Journal*†

**Life of Lincoln*, p. 155.

†As there must be frequent mention of this newspaper under its several titles, and of the river and county bearing the name of Sangamon, I am giving, in the Appendix, a note on the name and the newspaper.

the announcement of his candidacy for reelection to the Legislature, to be chosen in August of that year. His platform was short, and again definitely committed him to the principles of the Whig Party. He also announced himself as in favor of the distribution of a portion of the proceeds of the public land among the several states, in order that they might be able to carry out their schemes of public improvement without borrowing money.

This campaign was much more exciting than either of the previous contests in which Lincoln had engaged. Party lines were beginning to be drawn more tightly, and personal abuse became a more marked characteristic of the contest. For the first time Lincoln was made the subject of an attack, the precise character of which is not known. But the method of his meeting the attack is known. He addressed an open letter to the man who had claimed to know facts that would discredit Lincoln. The letter was so manly, so thoroughly characteristic, and proved so unanswerable that it deserves to be recorded here. The man addressed never came forward with his charges against Lincoln, and the latter was left triumphant:

New Salem, June 21, 1836.

Dear Colonel.

I am told that during my absence last week you passed through the place and stated publicly that you were in possession of a fact or facts which, if known to the public, would entirely destroy the prospects of N. W. Edwards and myself at the ensuing election; but that through favor to us you would forbear to divulge them. No one has needed favors more than I, and generally few have been less unwilling to accept them; but in this case favor to me would be injustice to the public and therefore I must beg your pardon for declining it. That I once had the confidence of the people of Sangamon County is sufficiently evident; and if I have done anything, either by design or misadventure, which if known would subject me to a forfeiture of that confidence, he that knows of that thing and conceals it is a traitor to his country's interest.

I find myself wholly unable to form any conjecture of what fact or facts, real or supposed, you spoke; but my opinion of your

veracity will not permit me for a moment to doubt that you at least believed what you said. I am flattered with the personal regard you manifested for me; but I do hope that on mature reflection you will view the public interest as a paramount consideration and therefore let the worst come.

I assure you that the candid statement of facts on your part, however low it may sink me, shall never break the ties of personal friendship between us.

I wish an answer to this, and you are at liberty to publish both if you choose.

Very respectfully,
A. Lincoln.

Colonel Robert Allen.

To this campaign also belongs the famous incident of his reply to George Forquer. Forquer had been a Whig, but had changed politics, his change occurring simultaneously with his appointment as Register of the Land Office. Forquer had attained further celebrity in local circles by his purchase of a lightning rod, the first or one of the first in Springfield. It was an object of great interest. Forquer was well known and a man of ability. His attack upon Lincoln at a great mass meeting was ingenious. It made its impression upon those who heard, and Lincoln was at considerable disadvantage when he arose to answer this opponent. Joshua F. Speed has told the story. He later became one of Lincoln's most intimate friends. At this time Lincoln was little known to him, but the impression made upon him was lasting:

"I was then fresh from Kentucky," says Mr. Speed, "and had heard many of her great orators. It seemed to me then, as it seems to me now, that I never heard a more effective speaker. He carried the crowd with him, and swayed them as he pleased. So deep an impression did he make that George Forquer, a man of much celebrity as a sarcastic speaker and with a great reputation throughout the state as an orator, rose and asked the people to hear *him*. He began his speech by saying that this young man would have to be taken down, and he was sorry that the

task devolved upon him. He made what was called one of his 'slasher-gaff' speeches, dealing much in ridicule and sarcasm. Lincoln stood near him, with his arms folded, never interrupting him. When Forquer was done, Lincoln walked to the stand, and replied so fully and completely that his friends bore him from the court-house on their shoulders.

"So deep an impression did this first speech make upon me that I remember its conclusion now, after a lapse of thirty-eight years. Said he:

" 'The gentleman commenced his speech by saying that this young man would have to be taken down, and he was sorry the task devolved upon him. I am not so young in years as I am in the tricks and trade of a politician; but live long or die young, I would rather die now than, like the gentleman, change my politics and simultaneous with the change receive an office worth three thousand dollars a year, and then have to erect a lightning-rod over my house to protect a guilty conscience from an offended God.' "

This was one of Lincoln's most famous campaign replies, and his reputation was vastly enhanced by it.

The election of 1836 resulted in the choice of a notable delegation from Sangamon County. A new apportionment had been made, and that county's delegation, the largest in the state, consisted of nine men. The candidates elected were Abraham Lincoln, John Dawson, Daniel Stone, Ninian W. Edwards, William F. Elkins, R. L. Wilson, Andrew McCormick, Archer Herndon and Job Fletcher. Each of these men stood over six feet in height. They were known as the "Long Nine." They went to Vandalia determined to move the capital to Springfield. They were ready to swap votes with any delegations which were not striving for the capital, but that wanted other concessions for their own localities. The extent of the log-rolling had probably lost little in the telling, but it seems quite certain that Lincoln and his associates traded votes on the general theory that anything not positively dishonorable was justified if necessary

to secure the removal of the state capital. The effort was successful. Springfield became the capital city of the state. It became popular after that, to charge all the bad legislation of the Tenth and subsequent Assemblies to the influence of the "Long Nine."

Of this session of the Legislature one incident is remembered in which Lincoln appears in an undignified light. In a close contest in which his side was evidently about to be defeated, Lincoln and Joseph Gillespie, another Whig, jumped out of the window of the church* in which the Legislature was sitting and so broke the quorum. This was not corrupt or dishonorable, but it was undignified. Lincoln afterward regretted that he had participated in this arrangement.

It is rather remarkable that we have so little information concerning Lincoln's activities as a member of the Legislature and a parliamentary debater. He was a member of important committees, and chairman of some, but his speeches were not reported. In December, 1840, he made a speech in support of a motion which he introduced as chairman of the Finance Committee. Evidently the excessive expenditure for printing appeared to him a matter of party politics, and was one concerning which Lincoln wished an investigation. Simeon Francis, owner of the *Journal,* which presumably had not been awarded the printing contract by a Democratic administration, was doubtless more than willing to print an outline of Lincoln's speech. I have no doubt Lincoln himself prepared this summary of his argument:

Mr. Lincoln offered for adoption a resolution raising a select

*Although Herndon, and others who ought to have known, assert that Lincoln was humiliated when he remembered this incident, it is of interest to note that his associate in this adventure, Honorable Joseph Gillespie, remembered it, and thought that Lincoln remembered it as an unimportant event. "It is doubtful whether either one of them ever attached any importance to it," says Gillespie's daughter. (*Joseph Gillespie,* by his daughter, Mrs. Josephine Gillespie Prickett; *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for 1912,* p. 105.) I find most contradictory accounts of this incident current in Vandalia, some persons denying that it ever occurred, and others proudly pointing out the window through which Lincoln and Gillespie escaped. It may be noted also that Gillespie remembered it as having occurred in Springfield.

committee, to inquire into the causes which have produced so large an expenditure for public printing, and to report a bill for the purpose of reducing the expenditure of that item, if in their opinion it can be done without detriment to the public good.

Mr. Lincoln said he did not offer the resolution by way of attack upon the public printer, or any one else. He was in possession of no fact which would justify him in so doing. He did not expect that more was printed than was ordered, or more was charged for it than the law allowed. He was disposed to believe, if there was any fault, it was at our own door. He had just read the message of the Governor of Indiana, in which he called the attention of their legislature to the enormous expenditure of twelve thousand dollars for public printing. Thus it would seem in our sister state, with a population doubling ours, twelve thousand dollars was called an enormous expenditure, whilst we, with only half the population and doubly more embarrassed, were paying twenty thousand for the same object. To remove all suspicion of his having the management of this committee for the purpose of making a party matter of it, he desired that the chair would not appoint him upon the committee.

The state just at this time was in the midst of a mania for speculation. Not only individuals, but the state government went mad on the scheme of internal improvements. Money was borrowed with the utmost recklessness, and squandered upon proposed railroads and canals, some of which have never yet been built. Lincoln was a member of the Committee on Finance. He declared it was his ambition to be "the DeWitt Clinton of Illinois." No suspicion of personal dishonor attaches to Lincoln through all this period of wild legislation. He did nothing to enrich his own pocket. He sincerely believed that the extravagant measures which the State Legislature adopted were for the well being of the state. He and his associates were mistaken. The day of disaster was not far away.

In all these matters of finance, Lincoln was as wise as his associates, and no wiser. It is pleasant to turn from this record of mistaken zeal to another in which Lincoln took a brave stand on a moral issue. The slavery question was exciting violent de-

bate. In 1837, Elijah P. Lovejoy was killed by a mob at Alton, and the press upon which his anti-slavery paper was published was destroyed. This murder excited little official protest at the time. On the contrary, the anti-slavery advocates were quite generally condemned as those whose agitation had produced this not unnatural reaction. The pro-slavery vote in Illinois was too large and influential for politicians needlessly to offend. On March 3, 1837, the Illinois General Assembly passed the following resolution in condemnation of abolition societies and their doctrines:

Resolved by the General Assembly of the State of Illinois:

That we highly disapprove of the formation of Abolition societies, and of the doctrines promulgated by them.

That the right of property in slaves is sacred to the slaveholding states by the Federal Constitution, and that they can not be deprived of that right without their consent.

That the General Government can not abolish slavery in the District of Columbia against the consent of the citizens of said district, without a manifest breach of good faith.

That the governor be requested to transmit to the states of Virginia, Alabama, Mississippi, New York and Connecticut a copy of the foregoing report and resolutions.

Lincoln was one of the few members of the General Assembly who did not vote for these resolutions. He sought to discover what other members would join in with him in a protest against these resolutions and at the same time in a protest against intemperate abolitionists, and he found but one such member. These two members of the General Assembly, Abraham Lincoln and Dan Stone, joined in placing upon the record of that body this righteous protest, being Abraham Lincoln's first public testimony against slavery on both economic and moral grounds:

Resolutions upon the subject of domestic slavery having passed both branches of the General Assembly at its present session, the undersigned hereby protest against the passage of the same.

They believe that the institution of slavery is founded on both

injustice and bad policy, but that the promulgation of abolition doctrines tends rather to increase than abate its evils.

They believe that the Congress of the United States has no power under the Constitution to interfere with the institution of slavery in the different states.

They believe that the Congress of the United States has power under the Constitution to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, but that the power ought not to be exercised unless at the request of the people of the district.

The difference between these opinions and those contained in the above resolutions, is their reason for entering this protest.

Dan Stone,
A. Lincoln,
Representatives from the County of Sangamon.

It must not be assumed from this protest that Lincoln was announcing himself as an abolitionist; on the contrary, he was much opposed to abolition agitation, and took pains to say in this protest that "the promulgation of abolition doctrines tends rather to increase than abate" the evils of slavery. The protest was honestly, but very shrewdly drawn. One of Lincoln's chief concerns then and for many years afterward was to avoid being known as an abolitionist. But he and Dan Stone were unwilling to go with a multitude to do evil, or to permit the murder of Lovejoy to pass with a censure of the men who loved freedom enough to die for it and no word of condemnation for the system which these abolitionists, wisely or unwisely, were opposing. He registered his honest and his abiding conviction that "the institution of slavery is founded on both injustice and bad policy." From that position thus early taken, Abraham Lincoln never receded.

It would perhaps be but fair to add that the standards which obtained in Illinois politics were the more favorable to the advancement of Lincoln because the mistakes of politicians in his day, in which mistakes he participated, were so largely the mistakes of the whole body of the people and of Lincoln's constituents, that a public official was not too summarily condemned to oblivion for his errors of judgment. Governor Ford comments

on this matter with characteristic severity, condemning the "Long Nine" whose log-rolling in connection with the removal of the capital from Vandalia to Springfield cost the state, as he maintained, more than the value of all the real estate in the vicinity of Springfield, and he records the names of those members of the House of Representatives who voted for the disastrous "internal improvement system." He was especially unhappy when he considered how many of these men, who, as he believed, ought to have been retired by the people, were continued in office. Ninian W. Edwards and others were "since often elected or appointed to other offices, and are yet all of them popular men. . . .Dement has been twice appointed Receiver of Public Moneys. . . . Shields to be Auditor, Judge of the Supreme Court, Commissioner of the General Land Office, and Brigadier General in the Mexican War. . . . Lincoln was several times elected to the Legislature and finally to Congress, and Douglas, Smith and McClernand have been three times elected to Congress, and Douglas to the United States Senate. Being all of them spared monuments of popular wrath, evincing how safe it is to be a politician, and how disastrous it may be to the country to keep along with the present fervor of the people."*

We need not claim for Lincoln in these matters wisdom superior to that of his associates, but may remind ourselves that his errors of judgment were not only shared by his associates in office, but that they did not prevent his repeated reelection, much to the disgust of Governor Ford, who counted him one of the "spared monuments of popular wrath."

Into this state, whose early political affiliations were with the South, Abraham Lincoln entered at a period when conditions were ready for a significant change; and he came into a position of commanding leadership just when that change was ready to occur.

**History of Illinois,* pp. 195, 196.

CHAPTER XVI

ANN RUTLEDGE
1834-1835

Honorable Isaac N. Arnold, whose *Life of Lincoln* is a valuable source of information, reminds his readers that Lincoln was unlike Washington in that the latter very early manifested a fondness for women, and that Lincoln became a lover at a much later period in his young manhood. He quotes Washington Irving, who said concerning Washington that "Before he was fifteen years old, he had conceived a passion for some unknown beauty, so serious as to disturb his otherwise well regulated mind, and to make him really unhappy." Arnold says, "Lincoln was less precocious than Washington, or perhaps his heart was better shielded by the hard labor to which he was subjected."

As a schoolboy in Indiana, Lincoln showed some fondness for girls who lived in the neighborhood, but he had nothing that can properly be called a love-affair. This volume has already noted that there seems to have been a kind of boy and girl attachment between him and Katie Roby, who afterward became Mrs. Allen Gentry, and has also mentioned his attentions, such as they were, to Polly Warnick.

When Lincoln first arrived in New Salem he boarded in the home of Reverend John M. Cameron, who had eleven daughters. From this interesting environment Lincoln escaped unmarried. There appears to have been safety for Lincoln's heart in the number of the Cameron girls. John McNamar also boarded at the Cameron home, and he also escaped without embarrassing entanglements. The Camerons and Rutledges agreed in their religion but disagreed in politics. Rutledge was a Whig; Cam-

eron was a Democrat. The Cameron girls made fun of Lincoln, calling him "old plain Abe." When Lincoln had fever and ague, Mat Cameron brought him water. Lincoln told her that if she kept him well supplied with water when his fever was on, he would remember her with a remunerative office when he became president. But not even in this mirthful fashion did he offer to reward her with his heart. When, later, he transferred his boarding-place to the Rutledge tavern, he took his heart with him, and the eleven Cameron girls also were heart-whole and fancy-free.

James Rutledge, uncle of John M. Cameron, had nine children, of whom the third was a daughter, Ann Mayes Rutledge. She was born in Kentucky, January 7, 1813, and was nineteen years old when she first met Lincoln.

Tradition has endowed her with every possible grace possessed by young womanhood. She had auburn hair, and a fair complexion. Her face must have been attractive, and all that we know of her is to her credit. Her youngest sister, whom I knew personally, was a woman of attractive personality, even in her more than ninety years.* She possessed vivacity, intelligence, and a gentle and affectionate disposition, all of which qualities appear to have been equally present in her older sister Ann.

Ann Rutledge did not lack for lovers. At least two men besides Lincoln sought to win her heart. One of them was Samuel Hill, proprietor of the store in which Lincoln was a clerk after the failure of the firm of Berry and Lincoln. She preferred the clerk to the proprietor; and such information as I have been able to obtain leads me to believe that she manifested good sense in that choice. It was, however, a second humiliation which Hill received at the hand of Lincoln, for he lost the post-office in response to a petition circulated by the women of New Salem,

*Sarah Rutledge Saunders, youngest child of James and Mary Ann Rutledge, was born in the Rutledge Tavern at New Salem, October 20, 1829. As stated in the text, she died at Lompoc, California, May 1, 1922. She was a woman of clear mind, strong character and abiding faith. To the end of her life she was a devout Cumberland Presbyterian. Her numerous friends know her as "Aunt Sallie" and she liked the name.

and he lost the hand of Ann Rutledge. However, Samuel Hill did not long grieve for her, for on July 28, 1835, he married Parthenia Nance. Parthenia did not cherish lasting resentment against her husband for first having loved Ann Rutledge, and in her old age she bore witness that Ann was a gentle and likable girl. But she treated with good-humored scorn the story of Ann's beauty. "She was not beautiful," said Mrs. Hill. "To begin with she had red hair."

The other lover of Ann Rutledge, if he can be said ever to have loved anything except money, was John McNamar, who entered New Salem in 1829 as has already been stated, and for nearly three years bore the name of John McNeil. In 1832 he returned to New York State, professedly to relieve the poverty of his parents and bring them with him back to New Salem. The three years of silence which followed he later explained by three weeks of sickness which befell him in Ohio as he was on his way home. It was perhaps as good an explanation as the others that he gave.

Arriving in New York State, he found his father, John McNamar, Sr., near death, and he died soon afterward. In the autumn of 1835, McNamar returned to Illinois, bringing with him his widowed mother, who did not long survive. He buried her in the old Concord graveyard, about two miles from his home. Two fresh graves were there, those of Ann Rutledge and her father. When, some years later, there was a question as to the graves, he was unable to identify any of them. He had never visited either Ann's grave or his mother's.

In the early part of his residence in New Salem, when Ann Rutledge was a girl of seventeen, John McNeil, as he was then known, professed to love her, and she returned his affection. If we are to believe the Rutledge family, her father, as soon as he knew that McNamar had been masquerading under a false name, became convinced that he could not be trusted, and disapproved the match; Ann for a little time after his departure cherished her affection for him, but not hearing from him, gave him up utterly,

and later accepted Abraham Lincoln with all her heart. If we are to believe McNamar, Ann still loved him more than she loved Lincoln, and, distraught because she could not give to Lincoln her whole heart, worried herself into brain fever from which she died. The silly part of the reading public believes the latter. I believe the former.

If Ann Rutledge died of a broken heart for love of McNamar, there was no possible way for him to have known it, and he is our sole source of information to that effect. If he won the heart of Ann Rutledge and broke it, he should at least have had the decency to keep the fact to himself.

Early in 1834 the affairs of the Rutledges and Camerons became so involved that they had to move from New Salem. They had sold their farms on Sand Ridge, and the Cameron house, a double log structure, stood vacant. They moved back to that farm, both families, and there lived in one house till the spring of 1836.

Those were hard times for the Rutledge family. Those of the children who could secure employment did so. Ann worked for a time in the home of James Short. It was on Lincoln's visits to Ann that Short formed the favorable judgment of Lincoln that led him to redeem Lincoln's horse and surveying instruments at the Van Bergen sale.*

Abraham Lincoln and Ann truly loved each other. For thirty years after her death no man is known to have alleged that any shadow of her former regard for McNamar came between them; and then the affirmation was made by the one man who, above all others, should have been silent.

Poor as the Rutledges were, their ambition was unconquered. They did not permit their son David to give up his course in Illinois College; and they encouraged Ann to expect that she might go in the fall of 1835, to the Female Academy in Jacksonville.

The last sister of Ann Rutledge, Mrs. Sarah Rutledge Saun-

*Lamon, *Life of Lincoln*, p. 163.

ders, died in Lompoc, California, May 1, 1922. For some years before her death I was in correspondence with her, and, in the summer of 1921, I went to California and visited her and made a photograph of her. She was at that time in bed with a broken hip, but was able to be lifted, and I lifted her into a wheeled chair, rolled her out into the sunshine and made a picture of her, the last that was taken, as I suppose, for from that bed she did not arise thereafter, except for a few moments at a time to rest, and this at infrequent and lengthening intervals.

I learned from "Aunt Sally" that she had one letter addressed to Ann, the only letter the family had that she received from any one, and perhaps the only one that was addressed to her by any member of her own household. This letter she loaned to me, with the privilege of use. To my great delight, I found it had an important bearing upon the question of Ann's plans for an education. The letter was written to her from Jacksonville, where her brother David was in college, and it dealt directly with her own purpose to go there the next autumn, and he encouraged the plan. It was really three letters in one, all on the two sides of one sheet, with room still saved for the address. The main letter was to David's father, James Rutledge. The first postscript was to Ann. The second postscript was to James Kittridge, concerning the district school at Sand Ridge, where the Rutledges had their farm. The letters are in the stiff and formal language of the time. Postage cost a good deal, and David had opportunity to save postage by sending this letter by a schoolmate. The letter to his father read thus:

College Hill, July 27, 1835.

Dear Father:—

The passing of Mr. Blood* from this place to that affords me an opportunity of writing you a few lines. I have thus far enjoyed good health, and the students generally are well. I have not collected anythings of Brooks, except that I agreed to take

*This was Charles Blood who later became a well known Presbyterian minister.

his paper as I thought that that would be better than nothing at all, though he says he could pay the order in about two months. L. M. Greene is up at home at this time trying to get a school, and I had concluded to quit this place and goe to him until the commencement of the next term, but I could not get off without paying for the whole term, therefore I concluded to stay here.

If Mr. Blood calls on you to stay all night, please to entertain him free of cost, as he is one of my fellow students and I believe him to be a good religious young man. I add nomore, but remain yours with respect untill death.

D. H. Rutledge.

To James Rutledge.

It will be noted also that a year's subscription to a newspaper, though not greatly prized, was considered better than nothing, and that an editor's promise to pay in two months was not rated highly.

The Greene brothers, to one of whom this letter makes reference, were friends of David Rutledge, as they were of Abraham Lincoln, and their home-coming for vacation teaching must have been a matter of general comment.

The second postscript had to do with school teaching. McGrady Rutledge, a nephew of James and cousin of David, had been asked to secure the teaching of the Sand Ridge school for another student named Porter. The Sand Ridge school was near the Rutledge farm, though several miles from New Salem. I quote, out of its order, the second postscript, which is to James Kittridge:

P. S.—I wish you to send McGrada's letter to him immediately as it requests him to attend to the school on Sand Ridge for Mr. Porter and also I want intelligence to come the next mail concerning it. I add nomore.

D. H. Rutledge.

James Kittridge.

David spelled "nomore" as a single word, and that was the way it was pronounced in formal discourse, a kind of "Amen."

It was a word sometimes uttered with great solemnity in sermons, a word of two syllables, accented on the second.

The first postscript is the part of the letter of the greatest interest. It reads:

To Anna Rutledge:

Valued Sister. So far as I can understand Miss Graves will teach another school in the Diamond Grove. I am glad to hear that you have a notion of comeing to school, and I earnestly recommend to you that you would spare no time from improving your education and mind. Remember that Time is worth more than all gold therefore throw away none of your golden moments. I add nomore, but &c.

D. H. Rutledge.

Anna Rutledge.

This letter is in full accord with the Rutledge tradition. Ann Rutledge and Lincoln were engaged to be married, and she desired to wait at least a year to attend the Jacksonville Female Academy. This, the only girls' seminary in Jacksonville in 1835, was merged with Illinois College in 1903. Ann had written or sent to her brother an inquiry concerning the school, and of her hope to be a student there in the fall of 1835, according to the Rutledge tradition. Lincoln, as he and Ann dreamed over the matter together, was to have entered Illinois College, at least for a year.

Ann Rutledge must have been sick when her brother wrote this letter. It was dated July 27, 1835, and she died August 25, 1835, after a sickness of about six weeks. Lincoln was not living in the house in which she died. He went over, riding from New Salem to Sand Ridge, and visited her once during her illness. What they said to each other no one knows.

No one remembers the funeral of Ann Rutledge. "Aunt Sally" had an impression that her cousin, Reverend John Cameron, conducted the service, though it is quite as likely to have been Reverend John M. Berry.

What would have happened if Ann Rutledge had lived, and

she had gone to the Jacksonville Female Academy in the autumn of 1835, and Abraham Lincoln at the same time had entered Illinois College?

I do not think that Ann Rutledge planned to go to Jacksonville unless Lincoln also went. She had had one love-affair that ended unhappily, and she was not likely to go away deliberately and leave her lover for a year. The Rutledge tradition appears to me to have every appearance of probability, that the plan of Ann to attend the Female Academy was thought out jointly by Abraham and Ann, and had joined to it his plan for at least a year of study at Illinois College.

The death of Ann Rutledge from malarial fever, in the summer of 1835, was followed a few weeks later by the death of her father, who died of the same disease. The sorrowing family remained through the winter in the Cameron home. John McNamar returned to Illinois soon after the death of James Rutledge. His generous heart forbade him to turn out the widow and her orphaned children before spring.

John McNamar, having performed his final filial duty in the burial of his mother, settled down and added farm to farm until he had a large estate. He made his home in the Cameron house, and across the road he erected ample barns. In time the log house gave place to one of brick; and his was known as one of the best farms in the county. He was elected county assessor, and his assessments were just and fair. He had a good sense of values. He paid his honest debts, and had no bad or expensive habits. In the latter part of February, 1879, he died on his farm, in the same dooryard where Ann Rutledge died, the local paper containing his obituary bearing date of March first of that year. His widow said of him that he was an honest man, but utterly destitute of sentiment. He was twice married. So far as I have been able to learn, he had no prejudice against ministers or religion, but ministers were expensive; men sometimes in the excess of matrimonial generosity, paid them as much as five dollars for a wedding fee, while justices of the peace were content with two

dollars. John McNamar was married to Deborah S. Latimer, February 15, 1838, by William Armstrong, justice of the peace. After the death of Deborah he was married to an excellent widow, Eliza McNeal, April 17, 1855, by Jacob Garber, justice of the peace. By these two marriages John McNamar may have saved six dollars. He was not a sentimental man.

William H. Herndon was a diligent if not always a discriminating gatherer of facts regarding Abraham Lincoln. When his book states a fact, within the range of Herndon's own observation, it is reliable; when he quotes an interview, he does it faithfully. But when he draws an inference, he is often wrong. Herndon was a man of emotional temperament, and his habits rendered him yet more emotional at times. In his later years it was his custom to drive over to Petersburg when court was in session, and pick up a few dollars as associate counsel for younger lawyers. Herndon boarded with his brother-in-law on these visits, and had to pay only for what he drank. On one of these trips he determined to visit John McNamar and learn whether he knew anything about the location of Ann Rutledge's grave. Herndon's brother-in-law drove Herndon to McNamar's farm on Sunday morning, October 14, 1866, as Herndon informs us, not omitting even the hour of his arrival. Services were in progress at the Concord Church, and thither they ultimately had to go to find some of the Berry sons who could identify Ann Rutledge's grave. McNamar could not assist them in the matter.

But he modestly told Herndon that Ann Rutledge loved him more than she ever loved Lincoln, and died of a broken heart for love of him. He pointed through the window at a currant bush in the dooryard, and said it marked the site of the log house where Ann Rutledge died. He intimated that it was the tenderness of his sentiment regarding Ann which led him to buy the farm where she had died.

Ann Rutledge did not die at New Salem. She died on the Cameron farm which then belonged to McNamar. She was never buried in the present Concord churchyard, the alleged photo-

graphs of her original grave being of another grave in the newer Concord Cemetery.*

The old Concord Cemetery, where the Rutledges, Armstrongs, Berrys, Pantiers and their neighbors are buried, is a measured acre of ground on the McGrady Rutledge farm. There stood the original Concord Church. The site is now completely overgrown, but many of the tombstones are erect and legible. It is well fenced and secure from cattle, whose rubbing quickly overturns grave-stones; and it is almost never visited by men. The curious go to the Oakland Cemetery in Petersburg, where reposes the handful of dust that in 1890 was removed thither as the body of Ann Rutledge. But more of Ann Rutledge than the covetous undertakers were able to scrape up and remove, remains in God's acre where the old Concord Church once stood, and which is now a sanctuary for the birds and the home of memories.

William H. Herndon visited John McNamar, as he particularly tells us, at half-past ten on Sunday morning, October 14, 1866; and on the same drive visited the site of New Salem. He did not waste any time in the publication of the information which he had received. On Friday evening, November 16, 1866, he delivered a lecture in the old Court-house in Springfield, on *"Ann Rutledge, New Salem, Pioneering, and the Poem 'Oh, Why Should the Spirit of Mortal be Proud.'"* The *Register,* Democratic newspaper, did not announce the lecture before nor comment on it after its delivery. The *Journal,* whose job department printed it in a broadside in its newspaper type, did not admit it to its columns, and merely said that as it was in print, no comment upon the lecture was necessary.

About a dozen people, so I am told, came out to hear that free lecture; and next day Springfield was ablaze with wrath. Lincoln left no blood relatives in Springfield; that town belongs to Mrs. Lincoln's nieces, not one of whom had ever heard of Ann Rutledge.

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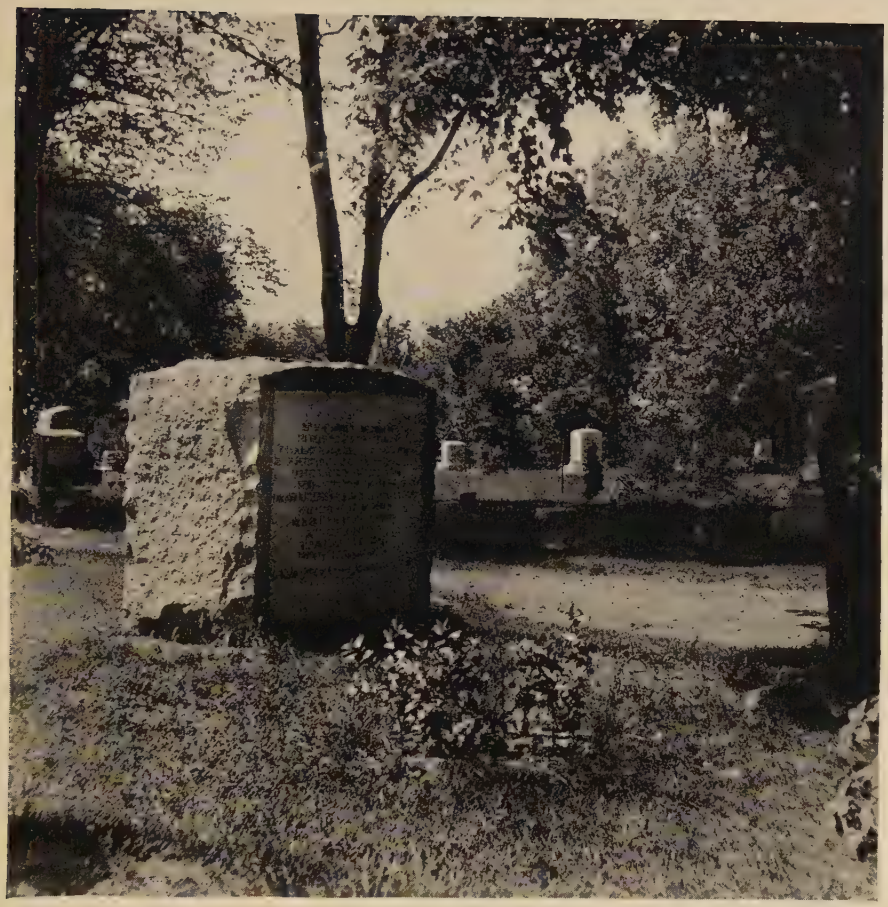
*Concerning the removal of the body of Ann Rutledge from the old Concord cemetery, see the Appendix.



THE GRAVE OF ANN RUTLEDGE

Petersburg, Illinois

The original grave
Old Concord Cemetery

Rutledge lilac bush
McGrady Rutledge farm

Not very far away, in a lonely home on Washington Street in Chicago, in one of those new white-front houses facing south between Elizabeth and Ann, a woman already crazed by her grief, read in the newspaper that her husband had so deeply loved Ann Rutledge (whose name she could barely recall as a youthful and long dead sweetheart of her husband) that he had never loved the mother of his children.

On whose testimony has the world accepted this libel on the character of Abraham Lincoln, this wicked stab into the broken heart of his widow? On the sole testimony of John McNamar.

Subsequent versions of the story have done little save to make it worse. Now it has come to pass that the ring which Lincoln gave to Mary Todd, the only ring he ever gave to any woman, has been plucked from her hand to adorn the hand of Ann Rutledge; its motto, "Love is eternal," transferred from Mary Todd who wore it to the grave is given over to Ann Rutledge who never saw it. It is high time to recall the sentimental interest of the American people to some appreciation of the truth.

I sat beside the bed of Aunt Sallie Saunders. She said my questions brought back to her memory things she had not thought about for half a century. From time to time I left her, and in an adjoining room, wrote down on a portable typewriter the substance of what she told me. I read it to her, section by section, and each time it reminded her of something else. When it was finished I read it and she signed it without glasses.

"Where did Ann die?" I asked toward the end.

"Didn't she die in the old tavern at New Salem?" she asked.

"No; think again about the house as you remember it; it was not the tavern."

"It was a double log-house with an open porch between, much like the tavern. I was only a little girl of six. No, it was not the tavern. It was not our house. The owner came back, and after father's death, we could not pay the rent. He turned mother out; and we had to move to Iowa and begin all over again. Mother had a hard time. I remember how sad and how brave she was."

"Think again, and see if you can remember whose house it was."

"Do you know?"

"Yes, I know who was the owner at the time of Ann's death, but I should like you to remember if you can."

She thought a little while, and then said:

"It was John McNamar! He was the man who turned mother out!"

CHAPTER XVII

LAWYER AND LOVER
1836-1839

LINCOLN sorrowed over the death of Ann Rutledge. The stories of his frenzied grief are doubtless exaggerated; but Lincoln's temperament was such that at times emotion controlled it. His grief was of a character that deeply impressed the men of his acquaintance.

But none of the women of New Salem thought of his sorrow as likely to last forever. With great promptness, and not wholly without his knowledge and cooperation, they set about finding him a suitable wife. Lincoln was now engaged in his campaign for reelection; was supported by both Whigs and Democrats, and was regarded as sufficiently established in his career to justify popular interest in his domestic affairs. This story would not shock us greatly if it were not for the popular impression that Lincoln held the memory of Ann Rutledge in such perpetual regard that he could love no other woman. Lincoln did love Ann Rutledge; but she was dead, and he had no thought of remaining single, as we shall presently discover.

Before we take up the story of Mary Owens, there is one other fact of large significance as to Lincoln's supposed life-long devotion to Ann Rutledge's memory, a devotion that, according to Herndon, kept Lincoln from ever loving any other woman. When in 1841-1842, Lincoln was in the throes of his uncertainty whether or not to marry Mary Todd, he unburdened his heart to Joshua F. Speed. The pent-up reservoir of Lincoln's habitual reticence broke its dam, and Lincoln talked to Speed as men

rarely talk with each other about the most intimate details of his love and doubt. If, as has been assumed, the reason for Lincoln's uncertainty was that he could not give his heart to Mary Todd on account of its being buried with Ann Rutledge, Speed would have known about it to the last detail, and the letters of Lincoln to Speed and of Speed to Lincoln would have contained inevitable references to it, as to his superficial interest in Sarah Rickard. Not only is there no slightest suggestion of this situation in the correspondence, but when, in 1866, Herndon's lecture was delivered, Speed declared that it "was all new to him." It was new to Speed for only one reason, namely, that it was not true.

Mary S. Owens came to New Salem only a few months after the death of Ann Rutledge. She came intending to look Lincoln over with a view to marrying him, and Lincoln knew that she was coming with that thought in her mind, and himself consented to her coming. Before she came, he more than half promised to marry her, and he set forth at once to cultivate her friendship with a view to their probable matrimony. Mary Owens was cousin to a considerable fraction of the population of New Salem, and her married sister had lived there through the whole of the Ann Rutledge incident. The female relatives of Mary Owens talked to her of little else than Lincoln and of what he had said and done since he became a resident of the town. She had a good mind and a good memory; she preserved all of Lincoln's letters, and she treasured in her heart the memories of his courtship and the gossip of her friends. As she recalled these things in later years, she was unable to remember that she had ever heard herself spoken of as the successor of Ann Rutledge in the affections of Lincoln, or that any one had ever spoken of Ann Rutledge except as a girl of the village whom Lincoln had liked and who had died.

Ann Rutledge died August 25, 1835. In the following summer Mrs. Bennett Able of New Salem, told Abraham Lincoln that she was going on a visit to her old home in Kentucky, and

she proposed to Lincoln to bring her sister Mary back with her on condition that Abraham should marry her. Mary Owens had spent a month in New Salem in 1833, and Lincoln remembered her as a handsome and attractive woman. He told Mrs. Able that if she would bring Mary back with her he would marry her. This, of course, was understood to be a joke, but it was not wholly a joke. Lincoln was twenty-seven years old and a member of the Legislature. Mary Owens was between four and five months older; she was born in Green County, Kentucky, September 29, 1808. When Mrs. Able told her sister Mary of the contract she had entered into, and Mary accepted the proposition and returned with her sister, Lincoln also knew that the arrangement was less than half a joke on Mary's side.

Ann Rutledge had auburn hair, was delicate and slender, and had a limited education. She was a Presbyterian of the Cumberland group. Mary Owens differed from her in these and other respects; she was tall and large, had dark curling hair, and inherited wealth. She was reared a Baptist, and herself belonged to that church. But her father was a man of wealth and influence and had sent her to a Catholic convent where she received an education well in advance of other women in New Salem. She had an excellent mind and keen wit. She was pleasing in her address, and her manners showed cultivation. She was a good reader, had a cheerful disposition, and was rather brilliant in conversation. She had a little dash of coquetry in her intercourse with young men, but still she held them at a distance. She had just passed her twenty-eighth birthday, and she was well aware that it was time for her to marry, but she did not intend, having gone so far through the woods, to cut a crooked stick. She intended to select her husband with care.

We know very little about the Ann Rutledge incident. If Lincoln wrote any letters to Ann they were not preserved. If there is any other documentary proof of their love-affair, it is unknown. We know that much that has been told about it is unreliable. It is not so with the Mary Owens courtship; we

have Lincoln's letters to her, preserved and loaned to Herndon who copied them verbatim and published them. We have her own story of the courtship, also, and, unfortunately, we have Lincoln's account of it. He wrote this narrative to Mrs. O. H. Browning on April 1, 1838. In all essential particulars his story we have no difficulty in making a correct narrative of the affair.

When Mary Owens arrived in New Salem in the fall of 1836, Lincoln began immediately and paid her more ardent attention than he had ever paid any woman before. She made her home with her sister, Mrs. Bennett Able, who lived just outside the corporate limits of New Salem. She had a habit of going in the afternoon to visit some cousins and meeting Lincoln by appointment there, and they walked home together in the evening. They saw each other almost constantly, and Lincoln began to feel somewhat surfeited. His habitual indecision came over him. He began to eye critically the woman who seemed to him almost too willing to be his wife. He noticed how large she was, and that she had passed her first youth. He began to consider that before many years she would be old and fat. On the other hand she was a woman of fine character, excellent education, good social standing and considerable wealth. He hesitated; he was already committed, but he was inclined to withdraw.

While he was in this state of indecision, Lincoln went to Vandalia to attend the winter session of the Legislature. He wrote to her from Vandalia under date of December 13, 1836, telling her that he had been ill and was depressed, and was disappointed in not hearing from her. He told her of the prospects of removal of the state capital. He was impatient at the thought of remaining ten weeks at Vandalia, and hoped she would write him as soon as she received his letter. Their correspondence during this absence did not, however, bring about an engagement, and Lincoln was soon busy with his plan for the removal of the seat of government to Springfield; and then followed other matters.

Lincoln returned from Vandalia at the close of his second term

in the Legislature a popular and successful man. He had managed the log-rolling of the Long Nine so successfully as to secure the removal of the state capital from Vandalia to Springfield. New Salem received him with evidence of popular approval.

But there was not much left of New Salem. Situated as it was on a peninsula, approachable only from the west and from the river, it was on the road to nowhere. When the river failed, the town began to disappear. A new town, Petersburg, grew up two miles away, and in due time became the county-seat of a new county, Menard. New Salem, as Lincoln expressed it, "winked out." Even the post-office was discontinued. Lincoln was its last postmaster.

If New Salem had to "wink out" its expiring wink came at an opportune moment for Lincoln. He was so constituted as not willingly to make any new ventures, and he might not have consented to a removal of his few effects to Springfield with the risks of that new venture if New Salem had continued to live, and he had been able to continue there in a practise of law that would have yielded him a living, and the assurance that as long as he chose to do so he could return to the Legislature.

On his return from Vandalia to New Salem, and before his departure for Springfield, Lincoln saw more or less of Mary Owens, but their meetings were unsatisfactory and led to a break, which, however, did not end the matter.

An incident occurred which was alleged to have been the basis of their rupture. Miss Owens, writing in 1866 under her married name as Mrs. Jesse Vineyard, denied that a certain story as circulated in the vicinity of New Salem was strictly accurate, at least so far as its having been the direct cause of her break with Lincoln. Apart from that feature, the story appears to have been substantially correct. One day she and Mrs. Bowling Green were climbing the hill to the Able house. It is a steep climb, as I can testify, and Mrs. Green was carrying a baby as fat as its father. Lincoln walked along, talking and joking, and paying no attention to the heavy load which his friend's wife was carrying. Miss Owens did not fail to notice Lincoln's neglect.

These unsettled conditions in Lincoln's love-affairs affected his state of mind in the period when he was leaving New Salem behind and transferring his residence to Springfield.

In March, 1837, just a few days after his and Dan Stone's protest, Lincoln was admitted to the practise of law. The state capital had been removed from Vandalia to Springfield. Lincoln, as we shall later remind ourselves, had no small part in effecting this transfer. Springfield offered him an opportunity such as New Salem could not possibly afford. Lincoln left New Salem, and established an office in the capital city of the state. There we shall presently find him, and shall continue the narrative of his fortunes. Before doing so we pause to consider some special topics which relate themselves to this part of his career.

Lincoln arrived in New Salem in April, 1831, alone, without money and except for Offutt without friends. He left in March, 1837, poorer than when he arrived. He was not only without money but he was heavily in debt. He had not achieved any large success in any undertaking.

But he had won friends, and they were true and loyal. Few men have had more friends than Lincoln, or utilized them more freely. He had physical strength, which was ever an element in his power with men. He had an education, such as it was, and it was of a kind not to be despised. He had character. He was honest, generous, just and kind. He had qualities which caused men to say of him that he would some day be a great man; and sometimes he himself believed it. But there were other times when the future looked blank or black to him. As he rode out of New Salem on his borrowed horse to begin in Springfield his uncertain career as a lawyer, his own hope for the future was neither bright nor certain. But we know that there were even then in Abraham Lincoln qualities destined to win recognition. The recognition came, and when it came he was prepared for it.

It was a solemn day for Lincoln when he bade farewell to his friends in New Salem and departed to become a resident of Springfield. He had come to New Salem as he himself said "as

a piece of driftwood floating down the Sangamon." There he had found shelter and companionship and a widened horizon. He was going forth to face he knew not what. Lincoln shrank from the necessity of making decisions. In deciding to leave New Salem he knew that he was entering upon a new epoch, and he did not face it with wholly pleasant anticipations.

On the other hand, Springfield offered to Lincoln exceptional opportunity. Its politicians were very grateful to him for his share in the removal of the capital. They promised him assistance if he would move thither. Lincoln had just procured his license as a lawyer. His old friend and comrade, Major John T. Stuart, offered to take Lincoln in as a partner. So Lincoln packed all his belongings into a pair of saddle-bags, borrowed a horse, and rode to Springfield.

We are fortunate in possessing an account of his arrival in Springfield. His friend, Joshua Fry Speed, thus told the story of his arrival:

He had ridden into town on a borrowed horse, with no earthly property save a pair of saddle-bags containing a few clothes. I was a merchant at Springfield, and kept a large country store, embracing dry-goods, groceries, hardware, books, medicines, bed-clothes, mattresses—in fact, everything that the country needed. Lincoln came into the store with his saddle-bags on his arm. He said he wanted to buy the furniture for a single bed. The mattress, blankets, sheets, coverlid, and pillow, according to the figures made by me, would cost seventeen dollars. He said that perhaps was cheap enough; but small as the price was, he was unable to pay it. But if I would credit him till Christmas, and his experiment as a lawyer was a success, he would pay then; saying in the saddest tone, "If I fail in this I do not know that I can ever pay you." As I looked up at him I thought then, and I think now, that I never saw a sadder face.

I said to him: "You seem to be so much pained at contracting so small a debt, I think I can suggest a plan by which you can avoid the debt, and at the same time attain your end. I have a large room with a double bed up-stairs, which you are very welcome to share with me."

"Where is your room?" said he.

"Upstairs," said I, pointing to a pair of winding stairs which led from the store to my room.

"He took his saddle-bags on his arm, went upstairs, set them on the floor, and came down with the most changed expression of countenance. Beaming with pleasure, he exclaimed:

"Well, Speed, I'm moved."

Thus was Lincoln furnished with a roof above his head, and his partnership with Stuart afforded him a law office. But that did not guarantee him food and clothing. Fortunately, this also, was provided. William Butler, State Treasurer and a most astute politician, had taken a liking to Lincoln during his first campaign for the Legislature, and had seen much of him in Vandalia. He was of those who encouraged Lincoln to remain in Sangamon County and run again, not doubting that two years later, if his influence continued to grow, he could be elected to the office for which he was in the beginning defeated. Butler was a hospitable, warm-hearted Kentuckian.*

William Butler took Lincoln into his home, and not only boarded him, but on occasion loaned him money for clothing. Lincoln made payments as he could, but the system of accounting was rather loose and irregular. Lincoln had a home with the Butlers for five and a half years from the time of his arrival in Springfield in March, 1837, until he married Mary Todd, November 4, 1842.

Lincoln deserves great credit for his own part in his making; but those who know of the beginnings of his life in Springfield, are disposed to say that there has never been adequate recognition of the assistance which in those days Lincoln received from his friends. "No man had more or better friends than Abraham Lincoln," said one of these men, "and no man was more willing to accept the kindness of his friends; but he deserved it and justified their faith in him."

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*His grandson, William J. Butler, who has given me much information, has fighting-cocks descended from those which his grandfather owned, and some of them trace their lineage farther back to the fighting stock of Andrew Jackson and George Washington.

Lincoln's partnership with John T. Stuart formally began on April 27, 1837, and continued until April 14, 1841. This was the first of three law partnerships of Lincoln. The business of the office of Stuart and Lincoln was primarily politics, and incidentally was law. In this respect it did not differ greatly from other law offices in that city. When Blackstone declared the law to be a jealous mistress, he did not know how much flirting with politics an Illinois lawyer might do unrebuked.

When Lincoln entered Stuart's office, Stuart was just recovering from the effects of a campaign for Congress, in which he had been defeated. His main interest at the time was in preparing for the next canvass, in which he was finally successful, defeating Stephen A. Douglas. Stuart was giving the office only incidental attention. He desired Lincoln as a partner largely that Stuart might be free to give more time to politics. Lincoln did not enjoy this, but it was good for him. Herndon says of the beginnings of Lincoln's partnership:

In consequence of the political allurements, Stuart did not give to the law his undivided time or the full force of his energy and intellect. Thus more or less responsibility in the management of business and the conduct of cases soon devolved upon Lincoln. The entries in the account book of the firm are all in the handwriting of Lincoln. Most of the declarations and briefs are written by him also. This sort of exercise was never congenial to him, and it was the only time, save for a brief period under Judge Logan, that he served as a junior partner and performed the labor required of one who serves in that rather subordinate capacity. He had not yet learned to love work. The office of the firm was in the upper story of the building opposite the northwest corner of the present court-house square. In the room underneath, the county court was held. The furniture was in keeping with the pretentions of the firm—a small lounge, or bed, a chair containing a buffalo robe, in which the junior member was wont to sit and study, a hard wooden bench, a feeble attempt at a bookcase, and a table which answered for a desk.

Stuart had need of all the time he could spare from his office

if he intended to defeat Stephen A. Douglas. Illinois at that time had but three congressional districts. Sangamon County was included in the third, which was made up of the twenty-two northernmost counties. In the spring and summer of 1838, Stuart and Douglas rode together from town to town, all over this great district, speaking six days a week. The election occurred in August, 1838. Stuart, the Whig candidate, won by a majority of fourteen. The total vote cast was thirty-six thousand. This election foretokened the coming power of Illinois as a possible Whig state. The growth of the northern end in population bid fair in time to transfer the state from the Democratic to the Whig column. This campaign was far more interesting to Stuart than the routine business of his law office. Lincoln, too, had much more fondness for the excitement of the political arena than for the drudgery of officework. Lincoln needed the discipline, however, and though it was irksome, it did him good.

The first months of Lincoln's life in Springfield were very lonely months. His social position was not what it had been at New Salem. When the Legislature was in session, he was a member of the lower House, but that was a less inspiring occupation than it had been. No longer was there any occasion for exciting manipulation such as the Long Nine had displayed in the removal of the capital. No longer was there the same occasion for the display of Lincoln's imaginary talent as a financier and a promoter of wild schemes of local improvements. The panic of 1837 was bringing men to a serious consideration of the folly of their wild speculation. Lincoln had occasion with the rest to sit down and consider the unwisdom of much that had been done.

Whatever of society New Salem boasted, Lincoln belonged to it. If he flattered himself that Springfield, being grateful to him for his share in removing the capital, would receive him socially with open arms, he was mistaken. A few politicians remembered his share in that achievement, and a little group of his friends were willing to stand by him and enable him to get a start, but

Springfield had its aristocracy, and Lincoln did not as yet belong to it. Later he came to be a prominent figure in its legal and social life. But his first feeling was one of isolation. He felt his poverty as he had never felt it before, and he was weighed down by his debts and the apparent hopelessness of his paying them.

Added to his other occasions for discomfort was the fact that his relations with Mary Owens still hung fire. At times he greatly desired her, but his almost fatal habit of indecision had now to meet her very serious questioning whether Lincoln with all his good qualities and his undoubted ability could make any woman happy.

While matters were in this state, he wrote to her on May 7, 1837, a letter revealing his depression, loneliness, consciousness of poverty and pathetic indecision. He said:

I am often thinking about what we said about your coming to live at Springfield. I am afraid you would not be satisfied. There is a great deal of flourishing about in carriages here, which it would be your doom to see without sharing it. You would have to be poor, without the means of hiding your poverty. Do you believe you could bear that patiently? Whatever woman may cast her lot with mine, should any ever do so, it is my intention to do all in my power to make her happy and contented; and there is nothing I can imagine that would make me more unhappy than to fail in the effort. I know I should be much happier with you than the way I am, provided I see no signs of discontent in you. What you have said to me may have been in the way of jest, or I may have misunderstood it. If so, then let it be forgotten; if otherwise, I much wish you would think seriously before you decide. What I have said I will most positively abide by, provided you wish it. My opinion is that you had better not do it. You have not been accustomed to hardship, and it may be more severe than you now imagine. I know you are capable of thinking correctly on any subject, and if you deliberate maturely upon this before you decide, then I am willing to abide by your decision.*

*These letters, with that to Mrs. Browning, are in all editions of Lincoln's Works, and need not here be reprinted in full.

This was a very strange love-letter in which Lincoln at once professed his affection and told her why she should not marry him. By this time Mary herself was hesitating. She was not yet ready to throw Lincoln over, but she was by no means convinced that he would make an acceptable husband.

During this whole period Mary Owens had been doing some thinking of her own. She noticed that when she and Lincoln were riding together on horseback in company with a group of friends, and they came to a dangerous ford, the other young men looked after their partners and saw them safely across, but Lincoln rode on ahead and let her come through as best she could. She had heard of his tender heart, and how he dismounted once to release a mired pig from a mud-hole, and she liked it little that he showed no concern for her safe transit. She chided him for his neglect, and he seemed to her obtuse; he merely laughed and said that she was "smart enough to get over alone." So she was, and she also was smart enough to want a husband who cared whether she got over safely or not.

One day in midsummer Lincoln rode to New Salem and saw Mary. Their visit brought him no nearer to a decision. That night at Springfield he wrote to her as follows:

Springfield, August 16, 1837.

Friend Mary: You will no doubt think it rather strange that I should write you a letter on the same day on which we parted, and I can only account for it by supposing that seeing you lately makes me think of you more than usual; while at our late meeting we had but few expressions of thoughts. You must know that I cannot see you or think of you with entire indifference; and yet it may be that you are mistaken in regard to what my real feelings toward you are. If I knew you were not, I should not trouble you with this letter. Perhaps any other man would know enough without further information; but I consider it my peculiar right to plead ignorance, and your bounden duty to allow the plea. I want in all cases to do right, and more particularly so in all cases with women. I want at this particular time, more than anything else, to do right with you; and if I knew it

would be doing right, as I rather suspect it would, to let you alone, I would do it. And for the purpose of making the matter as plain as possible, I now say that you can now drop the subject, dismiss your thoughts (if you ever had any) from me forever, and leave this letter unanswered, without calling forth one accusing murmur from me. And I will go even further, and say that if it will add anything to your comfort or peace of mind to do so, it is my sincere wish that you should. Do not understand by this that I wish to cut your acquaintance. I mean no such thing. What I do wish is that our further acquaintance shall depend upon yourself. If such further acquaintance would contribute nothing to your happiness, I am sure it would not to mine. If you should feel yourself in any degree bound to me, I am now willing to release you, provided you wish it; while, on the other hand, I am willing and even anxious to bind you faster, if I can be convinced that it will, in any considerable degree, add to your happiness. This, indeed, is the whole question with me. Nothing would make me more miserable than to believe you miserable—nothing more happy than to know you were so.

In what I have now said, I think I can not be misunderstood, and to make myself understood is the only object of this letter.

If it suits you best to not answer this, farewell. A long life and a merry one attend you. But if you conclude to write back, speak as plainly as I do. There can be neither harm nor danger in saying to me anything you think, just in the manner you think it.

My respects to your sister,

Your friend,

Lincoln.

Women do not enjoy this kind of love-making. Mary Owens did not want Abraham Lincoln to tell her that she was at liberty to marry him if she thought it would make her happier. She wanted to be loved ardently and wooed earnestly. When, therefore, Lincoln sought to end the affair one way or the other, by a definite proposal of marriage, and though he hoped that he had done it so coldly that she would refuse him, he was surprised and pained beyond all expectation to find that she did that very thing. He proposed a second time, and again she re-

fused. He made a third proposal, and the third time was rejected.

In Lincoln's letter to Mrs. Browning he said:

I was mortified, it seemed to me, in a hundred different ways. My vanity was deeply wounded by the reflection that I had so long been too stupid to discover her intentions, and at the same time never doubting that I understood them perfectly; and also that she, whom I had taught myself to believe nobody else would have, had actually rejected me with all my fancied greatness. And, to cap the whole, I then for the first time began to suspect that I was really a little in love with her. But let it all go! I'll try and outlive it. Others have been made fools of by the girls, but this can never with truth be said of me. I most emphatically, in this instance, made a fool of myself. I have now come to the conclusion never again to think of marrying; and for this reason —I can never be satisfied with any one who would be blockhead enough to have me.

It would seem to be reasonably plain that if Lincoln had summoned himself to a resolute determination to marry her whether or no, he might even yet have had her. She remained with her sister until the following April, apparently not quite willing to consider the incident closed. Had Lincoln ridden over from Springfield on any day in the winter of 1837-8, and told her that he loved her and would not take no for an answer, it is not likely that she would have refused him.

After Mary Owens* had gone back to Kentucky and to the stepmother from whose domination marriage with Lincoln would have relieved her, Lincoln met Mrs. Able in Springfield one day, and said to her, "Tell your sister she was a great fool not to stay here and marry me."

Miss Owens was not at all certain that she had decided unwisely. She married a Kentuckian, made her home in Missouri, and when the Civil War broke out she sided with the South. Her

*Mary S. Owens was born in Kentucky, September 29, 1808; married Jesse Vineyard March 27, 1841; removed to Weston, Mo.; had five children, and she died July 4, 1877.

sons served in the Confederate Army. But she remembered Lincoln as having been in many ways congenial, both personally and in that earlier day, politically. She wrote concerning him in 1866 that she regarded him as one of the kindest and best of men, and counted it an honor that he had offered to marry her and that he had repeated his proposal the second and even the third time. She felt sure that if she had married him he would have been an honorable and true husband, but she could not overlook what she regarded as his bad breeding and his inattention. She said she never believed that it had proceeded from any lack of goodness of heart, but his training had been different from hers. She summed up her reason for refusing the hand of Abraham Lincoln in this sentence: "Mr. Lincoln was deficient in those little links which make up the chain of a woman's happiness."

Lincoln was gaining in personal acquaintance and influence. He had come to be recognized as leader of the Whig Party in the House of Representatives. His associates among the Whig leaders were men of ability. His partner, John T. Stuart, was foremost among them. Closely associated with him was O. H. Browning, later United States Senator. There also were Colonel John J. Hardin, Jesse K. Dubois, Ninian W. Edwards, and Edward Dickinson Baker, after the last of whom Lincoln named one of his sons. The Democrats were represented by William L. D. Ewing, who twice defeated Lincoln as Speaker of the House; John Calhoun, former surveyor, under whom Lincoln had served as deputy, a man of character and ability; Lyman Trumbull, who was chosen for United States Senate in 1855 in Lincoln's stead; James Shields, with whom Lincoln later had his famous approach to a duel, and Ebenezer Peck, who introduced the convention system into Illinois politics. Besides these must be mentioned a young man, who, like Lincoln, had but newly arrived in Springfield, and of whom we shall find much to say hereafter, Stephen Arnold Douglas.

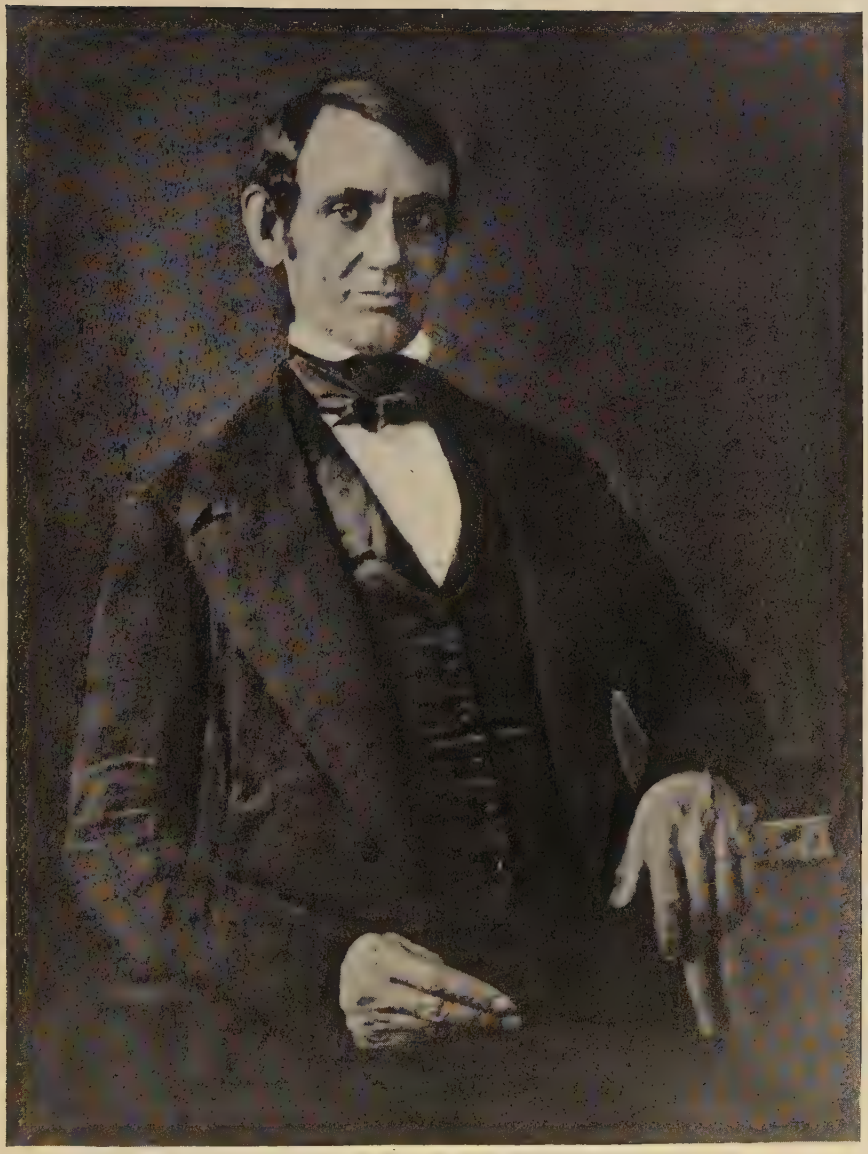
Among these men on both sides of the political fence, Lincoln was recognized increasingly as a leader to be reckoned with.

Lincoln did not spend the major part of his time in Stuart's law office. Speed's store was his headquarters. There gathered a group of men, largely lawyers more interested in politics than law, but including in its personnel men of other vocations and of no vocation at all. They discussed politics, religion and all other questions. There statesmen and near-statesmen and aspiring orators talked things over.

A few months after Lincoln's arrival in Springfield, a second bed was installed in Speed's large room above the store. It was occupied by Charles R. Hurst and William H. Herndon. Herndon was son of a Springfield tavern keeper. The father was a Kentuckian and a pro-slavery Democrat. The son had been sent to Illinois College. The murder of Lovejoy at Alton raised the anti-slavery sentiment of Illinois College to white heat. Herndon's father, learning that his son had become a hot abolitionist, withdrew him from school and cast him upon his own resources. Herndon had worked for Speed as a clerk before going to college, and on his return to Springfield he reentered Speed's employ and continued to be his clerk for several years. Herndon later studied law, and in time became Lincoln's partner. At this time, however, he was simply Speed's clerk, and a hot-headed abolitionist.

This group of four young men formed the nucleus of a literary society. In this Lincoln continued to exercise his gifts. His literary style began to change from the florid character of his earlier years, and to take upon itself some nearer approach to that clear, simple, straightforward quality which subsequently became its most outstanding characteristic.

Late in the year 1837 Lincoln delivered an address before a larger and more pretentious society, known as the Young Men's Lyceum. It was entitled, *The Perpetuation of our Free Institutions.* This met with so much favor that it was printed in the *Sangamo Journal* and greatly enhanced Lincoln's reputation as an orator. It is contained in all the editions of the works on Lincoln, and may be studied by those who wish to study his style at the height of his sophomoric period.



ABRAHAM LINCOLN'S FIRST PORTRAIT
From a daguerreotype owned by Robert T. Lincoln

Somewhat better in its method of treatment, and much more restrained in its diction, was his Washington's Birthday address delivered on February 22, 1842, before the Washingtonian Temperance Society. This is the address, well known to all students of Lincoln's life, which the newspapers discover now and then and quote as a newly found document containing Lincoln's tribute to Washington. That address shows considerable ability, and has some admirable paragraphs. Speaking on a patriotic anniversary, and on behalf of temperance he said:

When the victory shall be complete, when there shall neither be a slave nor a drunkard on the earth, how proud the title of that land which may claim to be the birthplace and cradle of those resolutions that shall end in that victory!

Thus early did Lincoln commit himself, though not yet as an abolitionist nor as a prohibitionist, but as a lover of sobriety and freedom, to a program whose avowed end was the elimination both of drunkenness and of slavery.

Two incidents may here be recorded as indicating Lincoln's growing popularity as a political speaker. The first is from the campaign of 1838, in which Lincoln again was chosen a member of the Legislature. The second is from the campaign of 1840, which was Lincoln's last active canvass for the Legislature, and the period of excitement of the Log Cabin and Hard Cider campaign. In the campaign of 1838, Lincoln more than once engaged in joint debate with a prominent orator known as Colonel Dick Taylor. Taylor had a personal fondness for fine clothes and other adornment, but in his campaign speeches he was accustomed to hide his jewelry. A part of his argument was an appeal to his horny-handed neighbors on behalf of democratic simplicity, and a protest against the lordly ways and aristocratic pretentions of the Whigs. On one occasion while Taylor was in the midst of his address, Lincoln slipped up to his side and jerked his vest open, revealing a ruffled shirt front and a heavy gold watch-chain and seal. The audience roared and the speaker continued his address amid great confusion.

When it came Lincoln's turn to speak, he reviewed Taylor's indictment against the Whigs, and described Taylor himself as riding in a fine carriage, flourishing a gold-headed cane, and wearing kid gloves, a massive gold chain with a large gold seal and a ruffled shirt. He then described his own claim to aristocracy, and told how not many years before he had been working on a flat-boat at eight dollars a month, possessing only one pair of breeches, which were of buckskin which shrank until they grew so short that they left a permanent blue streak around his legs.

This address was received as an effective rejoinder to Taylor's charge that the Whig Party and its candidate represented wealth and aristocracy.

The capacity of Lincoln for controversial argument found illustration in his first year in Springfield. At the August election of 1837, one General James Adams was a candidate for election as "Probate Justice of the Peace." Just before the election a handbill was circulated through Springfield charging the general with having acquired title to a ten-acre lot of ground near Springfield by the defrauding of a widow, and the forging of the name of her deceased husband. The author of the handbill did not sign his name, but authorized the editor of the *Sangamo Journal,* in whose office the handbill was printed, to furnish the name of the author to any one who might call for it. Individuals were not long in learning that Lincoln was the author of this vigorous denunciation, and the editor a few days later made definite announcement of this fact in a signed card published in the *Journal.*

Then ensued one of the fiercest of newspaper controversies. Lincoln was attorney for the widow, and Adams knew that Lincoln had obtained all the facts in her possession. He replied to Lincoln in articles many columns in length, denouncing Lincoln's attack upon him as a conspiracy. Lincoln used plain speech, declaring that certain statements of Adams were "false as hell." At length the *Journal* published an editorial, which

Lincoln doubtless wrote, and followed it with a copy of an indictment found against Adams in Oswego County, New York, in 1818, charging him with the very same offense, the forgery of a deed.

This settled the status of Adams, and it did much to establish that of Lincoln as an antagonist to be feared. It also did something to increase Lincoln's confidence in himself as a writer. From this time on the *Journal* was virtually his paper. The editor, Simeon Francis, was his warm personal and political friend, and Lincoln wrote many of the editorials from this time until 1860.

Gradually Lincoln emerged into the social life of Springfield. He was recognized as a man of coming political power, and one who, while lacking in social graces, would give to some young woman a social prestige worth thinking about. Almost immediately on his arrival in Springfield he was toasted at banquets for his share in bringing the capital of the state to that city. Before very long he was invited to parties and balls. He habitually attended these events. Young women were always interested in him, though they were inclined to resent his habit of withdrawing groups of young men who gathered about him and listened to his stories. He danced rarely, and not very gracefully. Still he had a certain dignity of his own, and there was a kind of grace that inhered in his very awkwardness. In a pleasant social environment he responded to the stimulus of congenial companionship, and almost forgot his great hands and feet. He never was what was called a ladies' man. But he had a touch of native courtesy which was the normal expression of a genuinely kind heart, and women admired him, even though they sometimes poked a little fun at him. In the early days of his residence in Springfield we find his name prominent among the social leaders of that city. The local papers mentioned him frequently at social gatherings. A printed invitation is preserved in the library of the Chicago Historical Society of a cotillion party at the American House at seven o'clock P. M., on December 17, 1839. The

invitation is signed by sixteen "managers." Among them are Ninian W. Edwards, John A. McClernand, Joshua F. Speed, James Shields, Stephen A. Douglas and Abraham Lincoln.

On this wise did the lonely lawyer emerge from isolation into growing prominence in Springfield. It was an experience far from being cheerful, but it had its value; and Lincoln moved steadily forward and upward to a position among the most prominent of Springfield's influential men, and toward a place of commanding leadership in the political life of the state of Illinois.

CHAPTER XVIII

MARY TODD
1839-1842

ALTHOUGH Lincoln's removal to Springfield put some miles of distance between him and his old neighbors and supporters, he did not lose their friendship or political support. He was a candidate for the Legislature in 1838, and again was elected. He was a candidate for speaker of the House and was defeated by a small majority. This session of the General Assembly was the first to experience a reaction against the unwisdom of the financial schemes of the preceding years. Lincoln was compelled to acknowledge that he was no financier, and his efforts to extricate the state from its embarrassing condition afford evidence, if any were needed, of that fact. We can find little to commend in Lincoln's contribution to the financial conditions of Illinois during the period when he was a member of the Legislature. Two facts, however, are to be remembered to his credit. One is that he was desperately poor and continued to be poor throughout all those years in which it was possible for a member of the General Assembly to be paying off his debts and providing for the future. The other is that while some of Lincoln's associates advocated repudiation as the only way out of the intolerable situation, Lincoln as a member of the Finance Committee steadfastly opposed it. He saw no better way out of it, but he believed that Illinois must keep her promises.

Lincoln was a candidate as elector on the Whig presidential ticket in 1840, but was not permitted to serve. Illinois, true to form, went Democratic. Douglas stumped the state for the

Democrats and added to his prestige. Lincoln made a number of campaign speeches for the Whigs. Only one of them is preserved. It is in the florid style to which Lincoln was addicted in this period of his career, and which he subsequently outgrew. It was, however, the style of oratory which his audiences enjoyed. Although he was not chosen on the presidential electoral ticket, he was a successful candidate for the Legislature. Again, he was the candidate of his party for the speakership and had thirty-six votes, but Ewing, candidate of the Democratic members, had forty-six, and Lincoln never became speaker of the Illinois House of Representatives.

In the campaign of 1840, Lincoln crossed swords with Jesse B. Thomas, a prominent Democratic politician. Lincoln engaged in a debate with him at a meeting held in the Presbyterian Church of Springfield. Subsequently Thomas delivered an address in the court-house in which he denounced the Long Nine and held them up to ridicule, reflecting most severely upon Lincoln. Lincoln was not present at the beginning of the address, but the strictures of Thomas were so severe that some of Lincoln's friends stepped out and informed him, and he hurried to the meeting and heard the closing portion of Thomas' speech. Lincoln was thoroughly aroused, not so much by the argument as by the ridicule. When Thomas closed, he stepped to the platform and made answer to Thomas' address. He did not stop with argument; he disclosed a wholly unsuspected power of ridicule, sarcasm and mimicry. He imitated the mannerisms of Thomas, and held him up to scorn. So severe was his castigation, so unlike anything that his friends had ever seen or suspected in Lincoln, that all who heard him were amazed. The crowd yelled and cheered, and Lincoln, thus encouraged, went still farther with his scathing ridicule. Thomas writhed under the pain of this experience and finally gave way to tears. Herndon says of this incident, which was known as "the skinning of Thomas":

The whole thing was so unlike Lincoln, it was not soon for-

gotten either by his friends or enemies. I heard him afterward say that the recollection of his conduct that evening filled him with the deepest chagrin. He felt that he had gone too far, and to rid his good nature of a load, he hunted up Thomas and made ample apology. The incident and its sequel proved that Lincoln could not only be vindictive but manly as well.

In 1842, Lincoln for the first time in his life met a former president of the United States and found himself at ease in his presence. Martin Van Buren, who had just finished his term as president, made a tour of the West. In July his party reached Rochester, six miles from Springfield, and, the roads being bad, remained there for the night. A large delegation of politicians, mostly Democrats, went out and spent a merry evening with Van Buren and his fellow-travelers, taking with them from Springfield such refreshments as they supposed appropriate and which they thought the facilities of Rochester might lack. Lincoln, though a Whig, accompanied this party, and shared in the festivities. Van Buren was an accomplished story-teller and had a fund of reminiscences; but Lincoln distanced all competitors in the exchange of stories. The fun continued until after midnight, and Van Buren declared his sides were sore from laughing. Thus did Lincoln move forward in his relations with men.

Shy as Lincoln was in the presence of women, he was less so in 1840 than in 1830. His experience in Springfield and on the circuit had given him wider relationships with men and women both. County-seat society was at its best during court sessions, and Lincoln shared increasingly in these enjoyments. On one of these journeys he was invited to play "Muggins." He did not know how the game was played; no man was expected to play it more than once. He was seated in a ring, face to face with an attractive girl, and charged under penalty to look her steadily in the eye and do exactly what she did. She produced two dinner plates, gave him one of them, and kept the other. Holding the plate on her knee with the left hand, she rubbed the

index finger of her right hand upon her plate, and then rubbed the same finger upon her cheek, forehead or chin. This was done repeatedly, the rubbing of the plate alternating with the rubbing of the face. It was the duty of the young man to follow all her movements, touching his plate whenever she touched hers, and rubbing his finger on his face when she rubbed her finger on her face. If he failed to look her steadily in the eye, or to follow any of her movements, he had to pay a forfeit. The young man did not know it, but while the plate in her lap was clean, the plate on his knee had been smoked above a candle. Lincoln won the game. That is to say, he did not fail steadily to look her in the face and to follow all her movements. But when she had finished, the company burst out in a roar, and produced a mirror, in which Lincoln beheld his face streaked in black in most ingenious patterns.

In such games, and now and then in formal dances, Lincoln had come to bear his share. Women liked him, and stood a little in awe of him. He liked women, but he stood in fear of them, and in greater fear of himself. But he was approaching the time when he would marry, and Mary Todd came in sight at a time when he was ready to consider matrimony.

Mary Todd, who later became the wife of Abraham Lincoln, was born in Lexington, Kentucky, December 13, 1818, and died at the residence of her sister, Mrs. Ninian W. Edwards, in Springfield, July 16, 1882. She was the daughter of Honorable Robert S. Todd of Kentucky, and granddaughter of Levi Todd, the only field officer at the battle of Blue Licks who was not killed. Her great-uncle, John Todd, was the first governor of what later became Illinois. He organized civil government under the authority of Virginia. He had previously accompanied George Rogers Clark to Illinois, and was present in 1778 at the capture of Kaskaskia and Vincennes. Of him Mr. Arnold says, "He may be justly regarded as the founder of the state, a pioneer of progress, education, and liberty."*

*Arnold: *Life of Lincoln*, p. 68.

MARY TODD LINCOLN
From photograph in Springfield about 1858

Levi Todd, grandfather of Mary Todd, was born in 1756, educated in Virginia, and studied law in that state in the office of General Lewis. He emigrated to Kentucky, and with his brother John, served as an officer under George Rogers Clark, and commanded a battalion in the battle of Blue Licks. He succeeded Daniel Boone in command of the militia, ranking as major general. He married, February 25, 1779, Miss Jane Briggs. The seventh child of this union was Robert S. Todd, born February 25, 1791. He served in both houses of the Kentucky Legislature, and for over twenty years was president of the Bank of Kentucky at Lexington. He died July 16, 1849.

On her mother's side the ancestry of Mary Todd was hardly less distinguished. Anne Eliza Parker was a cousin of her husband, Robert S. Todd. She traced her descent from General Andrew Porter of the Revolution. Her great uncles, George B. Porter, Governor of Michigan, James Madison Porter, Secretary of the Navy under President Tyler, and David R. Porter, governor of Pennsylvania, were all men of note. She was able to trace her lineage for many generations, and she had occasion for just pride in her family traditions.

Mary Todd first visited Springfield in 1837, and remained three months. She returned to Kentucky, but was unhappy there. Her mother died when she was still young, and like Mary Owens, she had a stepmother with whom she was not entirely happy.* In each of Lincoln's two most serious love-affairs after the death of Ann Rutledge, a stepmother and a married sister were important factors in his matrimonial prospects. In each of these two cases the young woman came from Kentucky, visited her sister, went back to Kentucky and came on again to Illinois with little intention of returning to Kentucky to live. There was this difference, however, Mary Owens had only one young man in mind when she returned from Kentucky to

*It appears in evidence in a suit among heirs that Mary was not the only child by the first wife of Robert S. Todd who left home to avoid the stepmother.

New Salem. Mary Todd returned to Springfield heart-whole and fancy free. She knew that she could have her pick. Springfield was moderately full of ambitious young men, and she was well aware of her power.

Mrs. Lincoln furnished to Herndon in 1865 this short autobiographical statement:

> My mother died when I was still young. I was educated by Madame Mantelli, a lady who lived opposite Mr. Clay, and who was an accomplished French scholar. Our conversation at school was carried on entirely in French—in fact we were allowed to speak nothing else. I finished my education at Mrs. Ward's Academy, an institution to which many people from the North sent their daughters. In 1837 I visited Springfield, Illinois, remaining three months. I returned to Kentucky, remaining until 1839, when I again set out for Illinois, which state finally became my home.

Her sister Elizabeth, Mrs. Ninian W. Edwards, supplemented the above statement with the detail that Mary "left her home in Kentucky to avoid living under the same roof with a stepmother." She had two other sisters, Frances, who was married to Doctor William Wallace, and Anne, who subsequently married C. M. Smith, a merchant. All these sisters lived in Springfield. When Mary Todd came to live with her sister Elizabeth she was not quite twenty-one years old. She was a young woman of unusual ability, quick wit and brilliant repartee. She was of less than medium height, and when she stood beside Abraham Lincoln, she seemed very short. In 1861, when she and Abraham Lincoln stood at a reception in Washington, he spoke jokingly of "the long and short of the presidency." Among other women, however, she seemed of average height. She was compactly built, and while she did not tend to such stoutness as came to Mary Owens, she grew more plump as she advanced in years. When Mary Todd arrived in Springfield she weighed about one hundred and thirty pounds. She was a brunette with rosy cheeks. She had rich, dark brown hair, and her eyes were a bluish gray.

She was handsome and vivacious and had a proud bearing. Herndon says of her as he first knew her:

She was a good conversationalist, using with equal fluency the French and English languages. When she used the pen, its point was sure to be sharp, and she wrote with wit and ability. She not only had a quick intellect, but an intuitive judgment of men and their motives. Ordinarily she was affable and even charming in her manner; but when offended or antagonized, her agreeable qualities instantly disappeared beneath a wave of stinging satire or sarcastic bitterness, and her entire better nature was submerged. In her figure and physical proportions, in education, bearing, history—in everything, she was the exact reverse of Lincoln. On her return to Springfield she immediately entered society, and soon became one of the belles, leading the young men of the town a merry dance. She was a very shrewd observer, and discreetly and without apparent effort kept back all the unattractive elements in her organization. Her trenchant wit, affability, and candor pleased the young men not less than her culture and varied accomplishments impressed the older ones with whom she came in contact.

Herndon relates an incident which appears to indicate that he offended her on the occasion of their first meeting, and it is certain that they cordially disliked each other. She found repeated occasion to be rude to Herndon after he became her husband's partner, and he had his cruel revenge in what he told about her in his *Life of Lincoln* and his lecture on Ann Rutledge.

If there are any people who suppose that the advent of women into American politics began with their recent successful struggle for the ballot and the adoption of an amendment to the Constitution permitting them to vote, those people know little about life in Springfield in the early days after it had become the capital of the state. In those days nearly all the ambitious young men in Springfield were seeking distinction at the bar and in politics. Young women, in considering the availability of young men as possible husbands, rated prominently among their assets their chances of political preferment. There is nothing

strange about the statement credited to Mary Todd that she intended that the man she married should be president of the United States. Forty other girls in Springfield probably said the same thing; but Mary Todd had greater reason than most of them to indulge that ambitious hope and expectation. Illinois was emerging into national politics. The campaign of 1840, having for its leading and successful candidate a man whose friends boasted proudly concerning him that he had been reared in a log cabin and that his drink was hard cider, brought the presidency easily above the horizon of the Springfield imagination. Mary Todd arrived to make her home in Springfield in 1839. Three married sisters lived there; and they, especially Mrs. Ninian W. Edwards in whose home she lived, were in position to pave her way to a brilliant social career. She soon had all the prominent young men of Springfield on tiptoe. It was not by any means impossible that some one of these might yet be president of the United States. Nor was it even then impossible that Abraham Lincoln would be the man.

Mary, Mary, quite contrary, how did the fashions go? Piled up hair, and shoulders bare, and vertebrae all in a row. No girl in Springfield had a more attractive pile of hair upon her well poised head, or a prettier pair of shoulders, or a better knowledge of all the arts of coquetry. She led Abraham Lincoln a merry dance that had its periods of anger and of tears. I should like to tell the truth about Mary Todd and Abraham Lincoln, and that is not wholly a simple matter. For there are those who ought to know who assure you that from beginning to end they fought each other, and married without love, and others equally in position to know who assure you that the course of true love never flowed so smoothly as with them. And I do not believe either of these stories.

But consider for a moment Mary herself. Let me relate one little incident which can not be all gossip because it has perpetuated itself in poetry. Poetry is the oldest form of history. The most ancient volumes of historical writing have embedded in

them scraps of poetry and song still earlier; and this sober piece of historical writing shall be no exception.

The state capitol in Lincoln's day was in the very heart of Springfield, being, indeed, the present Sangamon county court-house with one additional story built under the original structure. The land where the present capitol building stands was vacant and almost suburban; but just beyond it, where the new Centennial Building now is erected, stood the two fine houses of Ninian W. Edwards and Lawson Levering. In 1840, Mercy Levering, of Georgetown, in the District of Columbia, was visiting her brother, the visit resulting in her marriage, September 11, 1841, to James Conkling. At the same time, as we know, Mary Todd was visiting her sister, Mrs. Edwards. A very gay time these two maidens had while next-door neighbors.

There came a period of three weeks in which these girls were hardly able to step out-of-doors on account of the incessant rains. When at length the sun broke through the clouds, Springfield was one vast mud-hole. There were sidewalks on Monroe Street, and around the Square, but none on Fifth Street. But the two girls resolved to go to the Square, and look in at the stores and hear the gossip of the town. A bundle of shingles was in the yard of the Edwards home, and the young ladies each took an armful of them. Carefully picking their way, they laid shingles over the mud-holes which they could not step across, and so made their way to the nearer end of the sidewalks, and accomplished the purpose of their pilgrimage. But how were they to return? For the shingles which had been none too secure a foundation when first laid, would have been submerged by other feet, and the mud was deep.

Springfield had a drayman named Hart, who drove his two-wheeled sloping-bedded vehicle about town, backing it up at the doors where he had freight to deliver. The rear-end of his dray possessed no tail-board, but had an iron rod which fitted into a socket and was a convenient standard to which a rope might be tied on occasion. The rod could be pulled out for convenience in

loading and unloading. As the girls were considering how to get home, Hart's dray came by, and Mary Todd called to Hart, and asked him to convey her and Mercy to their homes. He backed up his dray to the curb and Mary climbed aboard. Mercy was too horrified to follow her example, though greatly wishing that she dared. Mary stood erect, holding tight to the iron stake, and the dray splashed and plowed its way to the Edwards home, and then backed up and let her dismount.

If Springfield had been New York, and Fifth Street had been Fifth Avenue, and the time had been the present, the daughter of any of New York's Four Hundred might have ridden home on a dray, wearing a dunce-cap and tooting a striped horn, and few pedestrians would so much as have turned their heads; but Springfield was much more conventional than New York.

Perhaps there was not another girl in Springfield who would have dared to do what Mary did; but people said, "That's just like Mary Todd," and laughed merrily about it. "There is a great deal of flourishing about in carriages," wrote Abraham Lincoln to Mary Owens. And Mary Todd was flourishing about in Hart's dray!

Doctor E. H. Merriman, who was Lincoln's second in the "duel" with Shields, was of those who saw Mary Todd riding home on a dray; and for that matter, who did not see her? He wrote a poem about it, not for publication, but to be passed around among their discreet mutual friends. Mercy Levering became the final owner of the manuscript, which only lately has been given by Mercy's daughter to the Illinois State Historical Society. Not wholly for the beauty of its lines, nor yet for the historical value of the event, but as affording a side light on the vivacity and daring of Mary Todd, this literary gem is here enshrined:*

**Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, April, 1923, p. 146. I have smoothed the meter in two or three places.

RIDING ON A DRAY

By Doctor E. H. Merriman

As I walked out on Monday last,
A wet and muddy day,
'Twas there I saw a pretty lass,
A-riding on a dray,
A-riding on a dray!

Quoth I, "Sweet lass, what do you there?"
Saith she, "Good lack-a-day,
I had no coach to take me home,
So I'm riding on a dray;
I'm riding on a dray!

"At Lowry's house I got aboard
Next door to Mr. Hay,
By yellow Poll and Spottswood then
A-riding on a dray,
A-riding on a dray."

The ragged boys threw up their caps,
And poor folks ran away
As by James Lamb's and o'er the bridge
She plodded on her way,
She plodded on her way.

Then up flew windows, out popped heads,
To see this lady gay
In silken cloak and feathers white
A-riding on a dray,
A-riding on a dray.

At length arrived at Edwards' house,
Hart backed the usual way,
And taking out the iron pin
He rolled her off the dray,
He rolled her off the dray.

When safely landed on her feet,
Said she, "What is to pay?"
Quoth Hart, "I can not charge you aught

For riding on my dray,
For riding on my dray.

"Fair maid, an honor such as this
I meet not every day;
For surely I'm the happiest man
That ever drove a dray,
That ever drove a dray."

'And now a moral I'll append
To this my humble lay:
When you are sticking in the mud,
Why, call out for a dray;
Just call out for a dray!

It is not easy for one who has not lived in such a community, to form an adequate or even just idea of social usages as they existed in Springfield during Lincoln's residence there. The town was small, unkempt and unattractive. The streets were unpaved, and there were no sewers. Livestock ran at large, and public sentiment was on the side of the owners of the hogs rather than with the owners of the gardens. A resident of Springfield in that early day has said that a man and a hog had equal right upon a sidewalk. The street crossings after a rain were places of deep mud with here and there a slab or a scrap of plank laid treacherously across some of the deeper mud-holes. A large proportion of the people still dressed in frontier style. In political life nothing was so damaging to a man as the charge that he was an aristocrat. Candidates who had fine clothes were careful to conceal the fact.

On the other hand the advertisements of the merchants showed increasingly the importation of textures of finer grade. Silks were a marketable commodity in Springfield. Some of the Springfield women boasted of silk gowns that would stand alone. There was a certain formality of address which was the more rigid because social life was so near the boundary of frontier living. Springfield ladies did not address their hus-

bands by their first names, but habitually spoke of them by their title. Men in professional life would sit and joke with the utmost informality, but there were certain lines that were rigidly drawn. Stephen A. Douglas, who was born in New England, was much more familiar in his bearing toward his equals than was Abraham Lincoln of the western backwoods. Douglas, in walking with a friend, would throw an arm around him, or slap him on the back, or even now and then sit upon his knee. There was in Lincoln something which forbade this kind of familiarity, and Lincoln did not himself indulge in it.

Consider for a moment the glory of Springfield's elite society at the time when Mary Todd entered it. In 1809, Ninian Edwards was territorial governor of Illinois; and in 1826 he became the third governor of the state. He was inaugurated in a gold-laced cloak over a fine broadcloth suit, and wore knee-breeches and top-boots. He was driven from place to place in a magnificent carriage drawn by a pair of spirited horses, and on the box were a colored coachman and footman. Illinois governors did not maintain in perpetuity that degree of pomp and circumstance, but the governor of Illinois was still a great man when Abraham Lincoln removed to Springfield and Mary Todd came to live with her sister, Mrs. Ninian W. Edwards. Much of the old dignity still hedged the governor about, and made the state social functions of Springfield glorious. The Edwards home stood in the most aristocratic part of Springfield—where now the State Centennial building lifts its stately façade to greet the dome of the capitol. Its owner was the son of old Governor Edwards; its hostess was the great-niece of old Governor Todd. If this free democracy of ours had an aristocracy anywhere, it was in Springfield, and of it Mary Todd was an important part.

After Governor Matteson's time, the governors gave receptions—he was the first Illinois governor to use the word; prior to that time these affairs were called *levees*. Mary Todd liked the word *levee*. Her farewell social function in Springfield was a levee. Springfield's high society did not give "dances." They

had dances, to be sure; when a few loads of young people drove over to Rochester or Jacksonville and had a "dance" in one of the taverns and got home about daylight. Springfield had "hops," which were more or less informal; and "cotillions" which were subscription affairs; and "balls" which were great events. A new governor was inaugurated with a ball, unless he was a Methodist or very strict Presbyterian, in which case he gave a promenade party. At a promenade party the guests gossiped and ate and flirted instead of dancing, eating and flirting. When Lyman Trumbull married Julia Jayne, he, being a staid Presbyterian, gave a promenade party. The Edwardses were Episcopalians; they gave balls. The Episcopal church in Springfield was said to have been erected out of Elizabeth Edwards's pound cakes.

Behold now a levee, or a ball, or a promenade party of about 1840, with Springfield's high society present in a body. One-half the pretty girls from all over Illinois are in attendance in their best frocks as house guests of relatives actually or officially resident of Springfield. And behold Mary Todd as she enters; for all eyes are turned toward her. She is dressed in "changeable silk, shot with blue and flame color," or perhaps on this occasion she wears "four illusion skirts over white satin," the overskirt "looped with dew-gemmed Stars of Bethlehem." The waist of her dress is not much to speak of, being cut very low, and revealing plump arms and attractive neck and shoulders; but the skirt has twelve breadths of silk, and stands out over from eight to twelve starched petticoats. She has tugged hard at her corset-stays and has a relatively slender waist; but still she is a good armful, plump, and pulsating with vitality. When she came in at the front door, she wore a flowered bonnet tied with a great double bow-knot under her pretty chin. Now, having removed her bonnet, she wears a flower, or perhaps an ostrich-plume in her hair. You need not try to keep your eyes off her; it will be of no use, and furthermore she is quite willing to be seen. In the language of the period, she is "dressed to kill," and she

knows the fatality of her attire. She moves down the hall, to quote the late Colonel Ingersoll, "like an armed warrior; like a plumed knight," or, if you prefer to take a figure of speech from the Bible, you will discover it in that simile said to have been formulated by a gentleman who was something of a connoisseur in the matter of pretty women,—"fair as the moon, clear as the sun, and terrible as an army with banners."

Entering the lists against the most eligible men in Springfield, men of wealth, men of education, men of culture, men who knew how to flirt and dance and indulge in pretty compliments to women, Abraham Lincoln set out to win the heart of Mary Todd, and to the amazement of all Springfield he succeeded.

Elizabeth Edwards and her two sisters intended to make a brilliant match for Mary. She had no lack of suitors. Stephen A. Douglas was among the men whose hearts were laid at her feet. After all possible allowance is made for exaggeration, hers must have been a brilliant social career in Springfield. With practically all the young men of Springfield to choose among, she accepted Abraham Lincoln, and they became engaged sometime in 1840, and it is said that they were to have been married on the first day of January, 1841.

What followed has been told by Herndon in words that have become the occasion of fierce controversy:

The time fixed for the marriage was the first day of January, 1841. Careful preparations for the happy occasion were made at the Edwards mansion. The house underwent the customary renovation; the furniture was properly arranged, the rooms neatly decorated, the supper prepared, and the guests invited. The latter assembled on the evening in question, and awaited in expectant pleasure the interesting ceremony of marriage. The bride, bedecked in veil and silken gown, and nervously toying with the flowers in her hair, sat in the adjoining room. Nothing was lacking but the groom. For some strange reason he had been delayed. An hour passed, and the guests, as well as the bride, were becoming restless. But they were all doomed to disappointment. Another hour passed; messengers were sent

out over town, and each returning with the same report, it became apparent that Lincoln, the principal in this little drama, had purposely failed to appear. The bride, in grief, disappeared to her room; the wedding supper was left untouched; the guests quietly and wonderingly withdrew; the lights in the Edwards mansion were blown out, and darkness settled over all for the night. What the feelings of a lady as sensitive, passionate, and proud as Miss Todd were, we can only imagine; no one can ever describe them. By day-break, after persistent search, Lincoln's friends found him. Restless, gloomy, miserable, desperate, he seemed an object of pity. His friends, Speed among the number, fearing a tragic termination, watched him closely in their rooms day and night. "Knives and razors, and every instrument that could be used for self-destruction, were removed from his reach." Mrs. Edwards did not hesitate to regard him as insane, and of course her sister Mary shared in that view.

Such an event, if thus advertised in advance, could hardly have failed to be a feature in the season's social life, but the newspapers of Springfield make no announcement of it. The records of Sangamon County have been diligently searched, and no license appears to have been issued.

Lamon tells us of an estrangement between Lincoln and Miss Todd on account of Miss Matilda Edwards, a sister of Ninian W. Edwards, but we have that young lady's declaration that Lincoln never so much as paid her a compliment. Herndon intimates that Miss Todd's admiration for Stephen A. Douglas became a factor in the problem; but there seems to be good reason for the opinion that Mary Todd had chosen deliberately and finally between the two men.

Lamon informs us, on the authority of Herndon, that Mrs. Edwards stated that Lincoln went "crazy as a loon"; and Herndon says that on account of this trouble Lincoln absented himself from the Legislature then in session. No known evidence confirms the report of his insanity. As for his absence from the Legislature, Lincoln was present on the second day of January, the day after the "fatal first of January, 1841." The third was Sunday. Lincoln was not present on Monday, but he was

present and answered to roll-call on Tuesday and in every legislative day thereafter until the thirteenth. He was absent from the thirteenth to the eighteenth inclusive. Herndon says that on the nineteenth John J. Hardin announced his illness, but no such announcement appears on the record. On the contrary, Lincoln was present on the nineteenth. He was absent again on the twentieth, but was present again on the twenty-first, and on every day thereafter until the end of the session, March first.*

As for the fear of his committing suicide, this is not confirmed by those who were of the Butler household where he then boarded. He seems to have taken about his usual part in legislative business. On February eighth he joined in preparing, signing and sending out the Whig Circular. On February twenty-sixth he signed with others a protest against the reorganization of the judiciary. On January twenty-third, which was the day of his desperately sad letter to John T. Stuart, he made a speech in the Legislature.

Nor did he flee from Springfield as soon as the Legislature adjourned to recover his reason on the Speed farm. During the remainder of the spring and early summer he was in Springfield, attending to business. He was certainly there on June nineteenth and June twenty-fifth and apparently later. The visit to the Speed home near Louisville occurred late in the summer; his letter of acknowledgment was dated September 27, 1841.

Nevertheless, Lincoln was under great mental strain. On January 23, 1841, he wrote to Stuart: "I am now the most miserable man living. If what I feel were equally distributed to the whole human family, there would not be one cheerful face on the earth. Whether I shall ever be better I can not tell; I awfully forebode I shall not. To remain as I am is impossible. I must die, or be better, it appears to me. The matter you speak of on my account you may attend to as you say, unless you shall hear of my condition forbidding it. I say this because I fear I shall

*_Life of Lincoln_, I:194-195. See also Weik's _The Real Lincoln_, pp. 60-63.

be unable to attend to any business here, and a change of scene might help me."

Nicolay and Hay thus account for Lincoln's strange conduct in those days of Lincoln's depression:

It has been the cause of much profane and idle discussion among those who were constitutionally incapacitated from appreciating ideal sufferings, and we would be tempted to refrain from adding a word to what has already been said if it were possible to omit all reference to an experience so important in the development of his character.

In the year 1840 he became engaged to be married to Miss Mary Todd, of Lexington, Kentucky, a young lady of good education and excellent connections, who was visiting her sister, Mrs. Ninian W. Edwards, at Springfield. The engagement was not in all respects a happy one, as both parties doubted their mutual compatibility, and a heart so affectionate and a conscience so sensitive as Lincoln's found material for exquisite self-torment in these conditions. His affection for his betrothed, which he thought was not strong enough to make happiness with her secure; his doubts, which yet were not convincing enough to induce him to break off all relations with her; his sense of honor, which was wounded in his own eyes by his own act; his sense of duty, which condemned him in one course and did not sustain him in the opposite one—all combined to make him profoundly and passionately miserable. To his friends and acquaintances, who were unacquainted with such finely wrought and even fantastic sorrows, his trouble seemed so exaggerated that they could only account for it on the ground of insanity. But there is no necessity of accepting this crude hypothesis; the coolest and most judicious of his friends deny that his depression ever went to such an extremity. . . . Orville H. Browning, who was constantly in his company, says that Lincoln's worst attack lasted only about a week; that during this time he was incoherent and distraught; but that in the course of a few days it all passed off, leaving no trace whatever. "I think," says Mr. Browning, "it was only an intensification of his constitutional melancholy; his trials and embarrassments pressed him down to a lower point than usual."

The truth apparently is that the date had not been set for the

wedding; that preparations had not gone as far as Herndon describes; that the breaking of the engagement happened as the result of a quarrel which may have occurred on "the fatal first of January," and that the rupture was known only to the intimate friends of Lincoln and Mary Todd.

Two events occurred which had an important bearing upon this matter. The first was that Lincoln's intimate friend, Joshua F. Speed, was also hesitating about getting married. He was haunted by doubts not wholly different from those of Lincoln. He married, and he and Lincoln had a correspondence of the frankest possible nature. The marriage of Speed occurred in February. In March, Speed wrote to Lincoln that he was happier than he had ever expected to be. Lincoln received this letter with genuine rejoicing, and wrote to Speed:

It cannot be told how it now thrills me with joy to hear you say you are far happier than you ever expected to be. I know you too well to suppose your expectations were not, at least, sometimes extravagant, and if the reality exceeds them all, I say, Enough, dear Lord! I am not going beyond the truth when I tell you that the short space it took me to read your last letter gave me more pleasure than the total sum of all I have enjoyed since the fatal 1st of January, 1841. Since then, it seems to me, I should have been entirely happy, but for the never absent idea that there is one still unhappy whom I have contributed to make so. That still kills me. I cannot but reproach myself for even wishing to be happy while she is otherwise. She accompanied a large party on the railroad cars to Jacksonville last Monday, and on her return spoke, so that I heard of it, of having enjoyed the trip exceedingly. God be praised for that.

The other incident was one of which Lincoln was afterward heartily ashamed, but it had a result of incidental value:

General James Shields was a man of ability and a rival of Lincoln. He was born in Ireland in 1810, being thus about a year younger than Lincoln. He served in the Legislature with Lincoln in 1836, and in 1841 was auditor of public accounts. Later he became associate justice of the supreme court, and he served

for two years in the Mexican War. His record as a soldier was good, and gave him great prestige. In 1849 he was elected United States senator, but was defeated for reelection in 1855, by Lyman Trumbull. He removed to Minnesota, and in 1858, was elected to the United States Senate. In 1861, Lincoln, his old-time rival, presented him with a commission as brigadier general. In 1879 he served a very brief term as senator from Missouri, and died at Ottumwa, Iowa, June 1, 1879.

General Shields shares the common fate of men opposed to Lincoln of having been needlessly belittled by historians. He had certain vanities and foibles which exposed him to ridicule while he was living, but he was a man of courage and of more than moderate ability.

Lincoln's access to the press offered him a tempting opportunity and he published over an assumed name in the *Journal,* a satirical letter dated from "Lost Townships," and signed "Aunt Rebecca." The wit of this communication was more apparent then than now, but it can plainly be seen why Shields should have been angered by it.

Unfortunately the matter did not end with Lincoln's own satirical composition. Mary Todd and her friend, Miss Julia Jayne, who subsequently became Mrs. Lyman Trumbull, made further contributions to the *Journal,* over the same signature, holding Shields up to ridicule and contempt. Shields was furious. He demanded that Mr. Francis should tell him the name of the author of the articles, and Francis, on Lincoln's instructions, gave him Lincoln's name and concealed the part which the young women had in the performance. Shields challenged Lincoln to a duel, and Lincoln accepted. The duel was to have been fought on the opposite side of the Mississippi from Alton. Fortunately, mutual friends of the two parties interposed their good offices, and there was no bloodshed.

In later years it happened once or twice that people who thought they knew Lincoln well enough to venture some remark about this affair spoke of it to him. He answered them with un-

expected severity, indicating that he was thoroughly ashamed of it, and wished it to be forgotten.

This incident brought Lincoln and Mary Todd together in the home of Simeon Francis, editor of the *Journal*. There seems no doubt that their meetings in the Francis home, and the affection of Mrs. Francis for Mary and of Simeon Francis for Lincoln, had the effect of bringing the hesitating Lincoln to a decision. Another favoring circumstance was that Lincoln continued to receive from Speed reports of his matrimonial happiness.

Plans for the wedding of Abraham Lincoln and Mary Todd were finally consummated with great rapidity. Apparently no one knew until the morning of Friday, November 4, 1842, that Lincoln and Mary were to be married. They both were superstitious and had they been choosing their wedding with some deliberation, would certainly have chosen some day other than Friday. They had come to a hasty agreement perhaps only the night before, and they decided to take no chance of any further delay.

When the Long Nine were log-rolling the seat of government away from Vandalia to Springfield in 1837, one of the most potent arguments is alleged to have been that in Vandalia the statesmen of Illinois were compelled to eat venison, wild-duck, quail and prairie chicken; while in Springfield they would get hog-meat.* The promise was abundantly fulfilled. But pork was not the only delicacy Springfield boasted in 1842. The frosting on the Lincoln wedding cake was still too warm to cut well when the time came for it to be served, but there was cake and much besides that was good. Ices they did not have; and the salads had melted butter instead of olive oil; but they had amazingly good things to eat at weddings and other festivals as well.

In 1837, Judge Samuel D. Lockwood, of Jacksonville, wrote to his niece, wife of Major John T. Stuart, Lincoln's first law

**Springfield Society Before the War*, by Mrs. Caroline Owsley Brown; Journal of the *Illinois State Historical Society* XV, 1922, p. 478.

partner: "We are installing a new invention to-day, my dear Mary, called a cooking-stove; it is said to be a panacea for all evils, but in my opinion it will not work."

It worked and still works. Beaten biscuit and pound cake and all the delicacies that formerly were cooked in the old iron oven on the hearth were even better cooked in the new cooking-stoves that were installed in Springfield about the time of the removal of the capital to that city.

After the railway came through, it was customary to hold weddings at five or six o'clock in the morning. That gave just time for a wedding breakfast before the departure of the one train for St. Louis. Springfield society was then accustomed to rising for a five o'clock wedding, to enable the bride and groom —usually if not invariably accompanied by the best man and maid of honor—to spend a honeymoon at the Planter's Hotel or in a voyage upon the Mississippi.

There was no wedding trip when Lincoln married Mary Todd. The arrangements were too hastily made. No invitations were issued.*

A few intimate friends were invited verbally. Lincoln stepped over to the court-house and obtained a license, the original of which, with the minister's return, has recently been found.

THE PEOPLE OF THE STATE OF ILLINOIS.
To any Minister of the Gospel, or other authorised Person—
GREETING

*So far as I am aware, there is only one scrap of evidence against the generally accepted belief, which I share, that the final arrangements for the wedding were made on the very day of the wedding. That is the following letter alleged to have been sent by Lincoln to John Hanks, who was then still living at Decatur:

"Dear John:

I am to be married on the 4th of next month to Miss Todd. I hope you will come over. Be sure to be on deck by early candle light.

Yours,

A. Lincoln."

This invitation is given by Mr. Weik in his *The Real Lincoln*, p. 58. Mr. Weik says:

"I did not see this note in the original. A lady living near Decatur, who said she was a granddaughter of John Hanks, furnished me the copy."

Evidently Mr. Weik was not convinced of its genuineness, which I also greatly doubt.

PARLOR IN THE EDWARDS HOUSE
Where Abraham Lincoln married Mary Todd
Photographed for this work by Eugene J. Hall

THESE are to license and permit you to join in the holy bands of Matrimony Abraham Lincoln and Mary Todd of the County of Sangamon and State of Illinois, and for so doing, this shall be your sufficient warrant.

Given under my hand and seal of office, at Springfield, in said County this 4th day of Novmb 1842

N W Matheney, Clerk.

Solemnised on the same 4th day of Nov. 1842. Charles Dresser.*

Reverend Charles Dresser was rector of the Episcopal Church of which Mrs. Lincoln at that time was a communicant.

On the day of the wedding, Lincoln received a letter enclosing a fee of five dollars, a sum just about large enough to pay his own fee to Mr. Dresser. Judge Logan had carried the letter for nearly three weeks before he remembered to hand it to Lincoln. Lincoln waited another week before acknowledging the remittance. Just a week after his marriage he wrote† to his friend, Samuel Marshall, of Shawneetown:

Friend Sam: Yours of the 10th October enclosing five dollars was taken from the office in my absence by Judge Logan, who neglected to hand it to me till about a week ago, and just an hour before I took a wife. . . . Nothing new here, except my marrying, which to me is matter of profound wonder.

Yours forever,

A. Lincoln.

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*When Nicolay and Hay were compiling their *Abraham Lincoln: A History*, they obtained what they believed was the original license and printed it in their work, vol. I, p. 189. The clerk in the office of the county court at the time of their procuring this copy was a descendant of N. W. Matheney, and he made the copy on one of the blanks which were in use at a later date than the original, and with some effort at the use of a handwriting similar to that of his grandfather, as well as that of the minister. The publication by Nicolay and Hay was in good faith, but it has given a wrong impression. Sangamon County had no seal when Lincoln was married, and the wording of the license was different. The authentic original is in the Library of the Illinois State Historical Society, and from that original the copy here given is made.

†From the original letter in the Chicago Historical Society.

So far as I am aware, this is Lincoln's only contemporary allusion in his correspondence to his marriage, and it is not likely that he talked much about it to his friends. "Profound wonder" at the end of a week of married life was the only emotion of which Lincoln made record.

CHAPTER XIX

LINCOLN THE POLITICIAN
1842-1849

In previous chapters we have considered the career of Abraham Lincoln as a member of the General Assembly of Illinois. He became a candidate for the Legislature in 1832, and was defeated. In 1834 he was elected, and was reelected in 1836, 1838 and 1840. His term of service in the lower House of the Illinois Legislature covers eight consecutive years from 1834 to 1842. These were years of important change in Illinois and in the nation.

They were years notable for their inventions. The steamboat had been invented by Robert Fulton in 1807, and it was an important factor in the life of the communities in which Abraham lived. The Erie Canal, begun on July 4, 1817, was finished in the fall of 1825. By 1830 or 1831 lake navigation had become sufficiently developed to transport goods from New York City by way of the canal and the lakes to Chicago, whence they might be carted overland to points in central Illinois and sold for less money than when brought up the river from New Orleans. In 1819 the first steamship crossed the ocean. In 1828 the first passenger railroad in the United States was begun. In 1836 friction matches began to be used, and about the same time gas pipes and water pipes began to be laid in the streets of the larger towns. The cotton gin had been invented by Eli Whitney in 1793, and this gave a mighty impetus to slavery. Cyrus McCormick invented his reaper in 1834, an invention which had large results in enabling extensive fields to be reaped with great

economy of labor. In an important sense the reaper presented to the North by a Virginian, was an offset for the cotton gin, invented for the South by a Connecticut Yankee. It was the age of invention. Abraham Lincoln, who was always interested in mechanical appliances, himself dreamed of inventions of his own, and for one of them he subsequently obtained a patent.

It was a period of intellectual activity. Marked improvements were made in the common school system. In Massachusetts, in 1839, two normal schools were established for the training of teachers, and these became the norm of a new series of institutions established throughout the country. The reading of newspapers became general about this time. The *New York Sun* was founded in 1833, the *Herald* in 1835, and the *Tribune* in 1841. These represented a new type of journalism. They displayed far more energy in the gathering of news than any of their predecessors, and much wider latitude in the discussion of topics.

It was a period of phenomenal activity in the development of American literature. Already the *North American Review*, which was established in 1815, was printing the writings of Washington Irving, William Cullen Bryant, James Fenimore Cooper and Fitz-Greene Halleck. Soon after the close of the first third of the nineteenth century the nation became familiar with the writings of Whittier, Longfellow, Holmes, Hawthorne, Emerson, Poe, Bancroft and Prescott, who began their career as authors about this time.

It was a period in which organized philanthropy had its birth. The first asylum for the blind in America was opened in 1832, and persons deprived of sight were soon taught to read books with raised letters. Asylums for the deaf were opened, and institutions for the treatment of the insane. In 1826 the American Temperance Society was organized in Boston. This was the first society to proclaim the doctrine of total abstinence. Before that time moderate drinking was all that was understood to be included in temperance reform. In 1840 the Washingtonian movement originated in Baltimore. While its primary object

was to aid in the reformation of drunkards, it powerfully affected the total abstinence movement. Abraham Lincoln joined the society. In Springfield and elsewhere, the celebration of Washington's birthday was primarily a temperance celebration. One of Lincoln's earliest public addresses was before such an organization. The meetings of the temperance societies did more than inculcate a hatred of strong drink; they were literary societies, and fostered social life in rural communities upon the basis of literary ideals with ethical purposes.

Most significant of the reforms of this period was the anti-slavery reform. The outstanding leaders of the Revolution, including many of the broad-minded men from the South, such as Washington and Lee, were opposed to slavery. Washington's will provided for the liberation of his slaves. Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, joined with Manasseh Cutler, of Massachusetts, in demanding that the Northwest Territory, out of which five great states have since been made, should be free from the curse of slavery. The Constitution of the United States provided for the termination of the slave trade in 1808. There was general expectation and desire that slavery should also come to an end. The invention of the cotton gin made slavery unexpectedly profitable. The constitutional provision that the slave population of the states where slavery existed should count on a three-fifths basis in congressional representation, gave slavery an unexpected influence in politics.

In 1831 William Lloyd Garrison began, in Boston, the publication of his paper called the *Liberator*. He advocated immediate and unconditional emancipation, and denounced the Constitution of the United States as a "covenant with death and an agreement with hell." In various centers in the North publications opposed to slavery began to be printed. Andrew Jackson in his Message to Congress in 1835, recommended the prohibition, under severe penalties, of circulation through the mails of "incendiary publications intended to instigate the slaves to insurrection." In the same year in which Garrison began the

publication of the *Liberator,* an insurrection of the slaves occurred in Virginia. It was led by a negro called Nat Turner. It was soon put down, but it served to alarm the South. In 1837, as we have been reminded, Elijah P. Lovejoy was killed at Alton, Illinois, and his printing-press was destroyed.

Of the original thirteen states, six were slave states and seven were free. In spite of the emancipation movement headed by Thomas Jefferson, the growth of the political power of slavery was marked. The removal of the capital of the nation from New York and Philadelphia to a new city located in slave territory on the line between Maryland and Virginia was important. In order to maintain balance of power, the habit was formed in Congress of admitting new states in pairs. Vermont, admitted February 15, 1791, and Kentucky, February 4, 1792, came in practically simultaneously. Tennessee, January 1, 1796, and Ohio, November 29, 1803, balanced each other; then came Louisiana, April 8, 1812, and Indiana, December 11, 1816, and afterward Mississippi, December 10, 1817, and Illinois, December 3, 1818. In 1819, Alabama, a new slave state, was admitted to the Union, and there was no free state in sight to balance it. This, however, was not regarded as an alarming situation. There were twenty-two states, eleven slave and eleven free. The Senate was thus equally divided. In the House of Representatives, on the other hand, the representation from the free states was larger, owing to the much more rapid growth of population north of the Ohio River. That river up to 1819 had been the dividing line between the free states and the slave states. East of the Ohio the line was projected in the old survey of Mason and Dixon, 39° 45′ north latitude, the dividing line between Pennsylvania and Maryland.

Late in 1818, the territory of Missouri applied for admission into the Union as a state. Nearly the whole state lay north of the line projected westward from the mouth of the Ohio River. On the other hand, most of it lay south of the northern boundaries of Maryland, Virginia and Kentucky. If Missouri was

admitted as a free state and the great domain lying west of the Mississippi should come in like fashion into the sisterhood of states, it meant the inevitable doom of the slave power in American politics. For that region was destined to become transformed into great states, each with two senators and an increasing group of representatives, all politically anti-slavery.

Geographically, Missouri was debatable ground. The northern two-thirds of the state was on a line with Illinois, Indiana and Ohio, but its southern boundary was almost exactly the southern boundary of Kentucky.

In 1820, Missouri was proposed as a slave state. The famous Missouri Compromise was suggested by Jesse B. Thomas, of Illinois, and adopted largely through the influence of Henry Clay, then speaker of the House of Representatives. It provided that Maine should be admitted as a free state, and that Missouri was to be a slave state, but that thereafter slavery should be prohibited in all territory of the Louisiana purchase lying north of the line of 36° 30′. This compromise having been arranged, the South permitted Maine to enter the Union as a free state, March 3, 1820, thus preserving the balance of power. But Missouri's actual enrollment in the list of states was delayed until 1821.

For the first time in American legislation the nation recognized by law a line dividing the country into a free North and a slave-holding South. Metes and bounds were set, and it was believed and duly announced that the slavery issue, as a political question, was settled.

James Monroe was the last of the Revolutionary statesmen to be chosen president of the United States. By the end of his second term a new generation of men had come to the front, and new methods of choosing them for office began to come into play. The men who made the Constitution of the United States never expected the people to elect the president. They did all they knew how to prevent it. It was their plan that the people should elect in each state a group of electors, and that these electors should elect the president. It was not intended at

the outset that the electors should be pledged in advance to support a particular candidate.

From 1804 to 1820 presidential candidates were nominated by a caucus of the members of Congress. This plan fell out in 1820, because there was no opposition to the nomination of Monroe. In 1824, an attempt was made to nominate a president by the old method. A few members of Congress met and nominated William H. Crawford, of Georgia. But this plan of choosing a president who had been selected by members of his party who were representatives in Congress by Congress had become unpopular. The Legislature of Tennessee placed in nomination Andrew Jackson; Kentucky's Legislature nominated her favorite son, Henry Clay, and that of Massachusetts proposed John Quincy Adams. No candidate received a majority of the electoral votes. Accordingly, the choice of a president fell to the House of Representatives. Jackson was the strongest candidate; the members who were opposed to Jackson united and elected John Quincy Adams as president. John C. Calhoun was elected vice-president by the Electoral College. Adams appointed Henry Clay secretary of state. The friends of Jackson and Crawford denounced this appointment as a corrupt bargain between Adams and Clay. They solidified their opposition into a new party known as the Jacksonians, or Jackson Democrats. Thus new political organizations took their rise.

In 1836, Lincoln was a candidate for the Legislature and announced his principles through the columns of the *Sangamo Journal*. In that letter, which bore the date at New Salem, June 13, 1836, his only reference to national politics was the following sentence:

"If alive on the first Monday in November, I shall vote for Hugh L. White for president."

Hugh L. White was perhaps the least conspicuous of the three Whig candidates. The Jackson Party was sufficiently organized to unite on Martin Van Buren, whom Jackson himself placed in nomination as his own successor. Those opposed to Jackson,

who from this time were called Whigs, had no sufficient organization to agree on a candidate, but divided their vote among William Henry Harrison, Daniel Webster and Hugh L. White. White was from Tennessee and presumably had more local backing in the neighborhood of New Salem than either of the other Whig candidates. White was a Whig only as Tyler was later a Whig, being an Anti-Jackson Democrat affiliated with the Whig Party.

In 1840, Lincoln fairly got into national politics. He warmly advocated the election of Harrison against the reelection of Van Buren. Harrison was elected, but Illinois went Democratic, and cast its presidential vote for Van Buren.

In 1844, Henry Clay was the candidate of the Whigs, against James Knox Polk. Lincoln was a candidate for elector. He stumped Illinois and part of Indiana. At this time he returned to his boyhood home and was pleasantly received. Lincoln fully believed that Clay would be elected. But Illinois sent nine Democratic electors to vote for James K. Polk and Polk prevailed in the nation also. Lincoln was grievously disheartened at this result. Later he lost some of his admiration for Henry Clay, but at this time Clay was his idol, and his own hope of political preferment was in the national triumph of the Whig Party.

Herndon accounted for Lincoln's marriage to Mary Todd on the ground of his political ambition. He began his second volume with an account of Lincoln's matrimonial affairs:

> The year 1840 finds Mr. Lincoln entering his thirty-second year, and still unmarried. "I have come to the conclusion," he suggests in a facetious letter two years before, "never again to think of marrying." But meanwhile he had seen more of the world. The state capital had been removed to Springfield, and he soon observed the power and influence one can exert with high family and social surroundings to draw upon. The sober truth is that Lincoln was inordinately ambitious. He already had succeeded in obtaining no inconsiderable political recognition, and numbered among his party friends men of wealth and reputation; but he himself was poor, besides lacking the graces

and ease of bearing obtained through mingling in polite society—in fact, to use the expressive language of Mary Owens, he was "deficient in those little links which make up the chain of a woman's happiness." Conscious, therefore, of his humble rank in the social scale, how natural that he should seek by marriage in an influential family, to establish strong connections, and at the same time foster his political fortunes! This may seem an audacious thing to insinuate, but on no other basis can we reconcile the strange course of his courtship, and the tempestuous chapters in his married life.*

It is not so easy, however, thus to account for Lincoln's courtships and matrimonial choice on the basis of any such cool and deliberate calculation. Lincoln was well aware of his own social deficiencies, and he knew well the value of such social standing as his marriage to Mary Todd would bring to him; but if he reckoned with so much of deliberation as Herndon surmises, and pursued his lady with so cold a fire, he was doomed to swift disappointment. For some reason, not wholly explained, Lincoln immediately after his marriage seems to have suffered some measure of political eclipse.

Lincoln was now married and living in the Globe Tavern, at a total expense for himself and wife of four dollars a week for room and board. This was not a large sum, but it was more than he had paid to William Butler, and Butler did not send in his bill every week. Lincoln was eager to be earning more money. His "national debt" still hung like a millstone about his neck. He had reduced it a little, but it still seemed large, and since his marriage his payments nearly ceased. He wanted to go to Congress, where he could have a larger income and be advancing in politics.

In the spring of 1843, he thought he saw his opportunity, and he entered into a fierce battle for the nomination on the Whig ticket. The candidates were Edward D. Baker, John J. Hardin and Abraham Lincoln. Lincoln encountered unexpected opposition. Baker was a member of the Church of the Disciples

*Herndon's *Lincoln*, ii, pp. 205-6.

of Christ, and on occasion preached, as later Garfield did. Baker was not unaware of the political value of his pulpit ministrations. The Disciples appear to have stood very solidly behind Baker.

Springfield and the region adjacent went for Baker. Lincoln's old friends in Menard, however, were true to Lincoln. The result of the primary convention in Springfield, however, sent Lincoln to the district convention as a delegate pledged to the support of Hardin. At this time he had a letter from one of his friends in Menard, asking whether, under the circumstances, they should vote for him as they had been instructed. He replied telling them to obey their instructions, as he was obeying his instructions. He also added interesting details of his own situation. He was required by his instructions and his sense of honor to vote for his rival, being thus compelled to act as best man at the wedding of his girl to another man; but he was performing his part according to the rules of the game:

It is truly gratifying to me to learn, that, while the people of Sangamon have cast me off, my old friends of Menard, who have known me longest and best, stick to me. It would astonish, if not amuse, the older citizens (a stranger, friendless, uneducated, penniless boy, working on a flat-boat at ten dollars per month) to learn that I have been put down here as the candidate of pride, wealth, and aristocratic family distinction. Yet so, chiefly, it was. There was, too, the strangest combination of church influence against me. Baker is a Campbellite; and therefore, as I suppose, with few exceptions, got that church. My wife has some relations in the Presbyterian Churches, and some with the Episcopal Churches; and therefore, wherever it would tell, I was set down as the one or the other, while it was everywhere contended that no Christian ought to vote for me, because I belonged to no church, was suspected of being a deist, and had talked about fighting a duel.

This letter shows, and we have other sources of information, that Lincoln did not spring into immediate popularity after his marriage. Indeed, when it became evident to the county convention that Lincoln was certain to be defeated, Baker came to him and proposed that Lincoln should transfer his support to

Baker against Hardin before it became evident by a direct vote how small was Lincoln's strength in the convention. This was arranged after a preliminary battle, and Lincoln accepted his election as a delegate pledged for Baker, having also Baker's promise that after Baker should have served one term he would then support Lincoln for the next term.*

So Lincoln attended the district convention, and voted for Baker; but John J. Hardin was nominated and elected.

The Whigs were now in control in Sangamon County and in the congressional district in which it was the largest political unit. There appears to have followed a kind of gentlemen's agreement between Hardin, Baker, Logan and Lincoln, all Whig aspirants for congressional honors, whereby each of them should have one term in Congress. Hardin was the first to succeed, and Lincoln was the next to follow and did so follow. Hardin kept his agreement, but when he got the office he would have been willing to be urged to hold it. Lincoln, however, wanted the place, and said in a letter dated January 7, 1846:

> That Hardin is talented, energetic, unusually generous and magnanimous, I have, before this, affirmed to you, and do not now deny. You know that my only argument is that "turn about is fair play."

The time came not long afterward when Lincoln, according to his own statement, would have been quite as willing as Hardin to be urged to serve in Congress for another term. He was not urged.

All through 1845 and 1846, Lincoln was busy endeavoring to secure his own election to Congress. He easily won the Whig nomination after the withdrawal of Hardin in his favor. His opponent on the Democratic ticket was the Reverend Peter Cartwright, the celebrated Methodist preacher.

Peter Cartwright was at that time one of the outstanding

*I have the details of this information from Judge E. W. Baker, nephew of Senator E. D. Baker.

figures in Illinois. The son of pioneer parents, he was born in Kentucky in 1785, converted in the great revival of 1799-1802, ordained a deacon at twenty-one, an elder at twenty-three and in 1804 admitted to the Western Conference of the Methodist Church, which then embraced all the territory west of the mountains. In 1824 he moved his family to Illinois, making his home at Pleasant Plains, in Sangamon County. His circuit extended from Kaskaskia River to the northern bounds of settlement in the state, including a mission to the Pottawattomie Indians on Fox River. Through a region destitute of ferries, bridges and roads, he journeyed, preaching, exhorting, arguing, denouncing, singing and shouting. For forty-eight years he lived in Illinois. He preached nearly eighteen thousand sermons, baptized nearly fifteen thousand converts, and received into membership nearly twelve thousand communicants. He was five feet ten in stature, squarely built and in vigorous health. For two generations he was one of the most notable characters in Illinois. He was a man of heroic courage, a Jackson Democrat, a hater of slavery and of whisky. He served two terms in the Illinois Legislature, and in 1846 had his notable campaign against Abraham Lincoln for Congress.

It is related that during this campaign, Lincoln made a speech in a town where Cartwright had an appointment to preach in the evening, and that Lincoln attended the service at night, sitting in the rear of the room. At the close of the sermon, Cartwright called upon all who expected to go to Heaven to rise, and all rose except Lincoln. Then Cartwright, following the well-known evangelistic method of the period, asked all who expected to go to hell to rise. Still Lincoln remained seated. Cartwright never hesitated to be personal in his applications and appeals. He leaned across the pulpit and said, "I have asked all who expect to go to Heaven to rise, and all who expect to go to hell to rise; and now I should like to inquire, where does Mr. Lincoln expect to go?" Lincoln rose, saying that he had not expected to participate in the service otherwise than by his presence, but since

Mr. Cartwright insisted on knowing where he expected to go, he would answer; "I expect to go to Congress."

In his old age, Peter Cartwright suffered a great sorrow and humiliation. One of his grandsons was indicted for murder. Lincoln was counsel for the defense. The young man was acquitted.

Cartwright had defeated Lincoln in his first campaign for the Legislature; Lincoln defeated Cartwright in the race for Congress. The congressional election was held in August, 1846, but Lincoln did not take his seat until the assembling of the Thirtieth Congress in December, 1847.

In the interval between his election and his journey to Washington, Lincoln made his first recorded visit to Chicago.

So far as the author is aware, no biographer of Lincoln before the year 1921* had ever heard of the River and Harbor Convention of 1847. It is not mentioned by Herndon, by Nicolay and Hay, by Arnold, by Morse, or in Miss Tarbell's *Life of Lincoln.* But it was that which, so far as we know, first brought Lincoln to Chicago. The Chicago papers, truthful then as always, stated that this was the first visit of the Honorable A. Lincoln to the metropolis of the state.†

He was more welcome than he might have been at some earlier period in his career. In the first place he was the only Whig member of Congress from Illinois; he was just elected and had not yet taken his seat. In the second place, he was thoroughly

*In that year I delivered before the Illinois State Historical Society an address in which I called attention to the importance of this event, and in the following year Mr. James Shaw, of Aurora, treated it at length. Miss Tarbell records this meeting in her *Following the Footsteps of the Lincolns,* published in 1923, and properly credits Mr. Shaw for having called her attention to it as he was the first, also, to suggest to me its significance.

†"Abraham Lincoln, the only Whig representative to Congress from this state, we are happy to see in attendance upon the Convention. This is his first visit to the commercial emporium of the state, and we have no doubt his first visit will impress him more deeply, if possible, with the importance, and inspire a higher zeal for the great interest of River-and-Harbor improvements. We expect much from him as a representative in Congress, and we have no doubt our expectations will be more than realized, for never was reliance placed in a nobler heart and a sounder judgment. We know the banner he bears will never be soiled."—*Chicago Journal,* July 6, 1847.

committed to the policy of developing inland waters and of connecting the lakes with the rivers. It is interesting to consider what the Convention did for Abraham Lincoln. The presiding officer was Edward Bates, of Missouri. Lincoln probably did not know it at the time, but then and there he formed the impression which later made Bates a member of his Cabinet. It was there that Lincoln first heard Horace Greeley, and Greeley heard Lincoln in a short and tactful speech. Greeley did not know it, but he was forming an impression of Lincoln, which thirteen years later was to influence his judgment in accepting Lincoln, though reluctantly, as the compromise candidate who could not only defeat Seward in the Convention, but also defeat the Democratic nominee in the election following. What Lincoln came to learn of the qualities essential to unifying his own state went far toward making him capable of unifying the nation.

The attendance upon the River and Harbor Convention was not limited to residents of lake cities. There were seven delegates from Connecticut, one from Florida, two from Georgia, twelve from Iowa, two from Kentucky, two from Maine, twenty-eight from Massachusetts, forty-five from Missouri, two from New Hampshire, eight from New Jersey, twenty-seven from Pennsylvania, three from Rhode Island, one from South Carolina. There were long lists from New York, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin. These were enrolled by counties and show a wide-spread representation from all parts of these states. The convention was felt to be of vast economic interest and was by no means lacking in political importance. Theoretically it was assembled for the consideration of internal improvements; but in addition to this it was convened for the sake of opposing James K. Polk and all his political associations.

Horace Greeley wrote up the convention for the *New York Tribune,* and ever afterward advised young men to "Go West, and grow up with the country." Thurlow Weed reported it for the *Albany Journal,* and gave an interesting account of his own journey around the lakes on "the magnificient steamer *Empire.*"

David Dudley Field was present to speak for the administration. He did it with shrewdness; Greeley gives the gist of his address. The convention did not treat him any too courteously, and Lincoln followed with his one speech, a tactful one, of which we have no report, but one that appears to have stood for fair play while being ardently in favor of the whole plan of internal improvements. The convention at its next session apologized to Mr. Field for the uncivil treatment he had received, but did not alter its program or change its convictions on account of this apology for bad manners.

The River and Harbor Convention of 1847 put Chicago upon the nation's map. It did more than any previous or subsequent assembly to link the fortunes of the great state of Illinois with the North and East.

It must have been a very illuminating event to Lincoln. It was probably* his first view of the Great Lakes. It was his first important reminder that, while he was elected from central Illinois, he, as the only Whig member of Congress from the state, must find his political support thereafter largely in the newer portion of the state where the Whigs were more largely in control. It must have reminded him, and he was soon to be rudely reminded again, that Chicago and northern Illinois with her, was thenceforth to be reckoned with as an important political as well as economic factor.

The Thirtieth Congress convened on December 6, 1847, with Robert C. Winthrop as speaker. A marked change had come over the complexion of the House since its last session. In the preceding Congress the Whigs had had seventy-five members and the Democrats one hundred forty-two. In this the Whigs had one hundred sixteen and the Democrats one hundred eight. Among Lincoln's colleagues from Illinois, all Democrats, were John A. McClernand, whom he knew well, and who was subse-

*See an address on *The Influence of Chicago upon the Career of Abraham Lincoln* delivered before the Chicago Historical Society, by William E. Barton, on Lincoln's Birthday, 1922.

quently a general in the Union Army, and John Wentworth, of Chicago. Among his fellow-members on the floor were ex-President John Quincy Adams, George Ashmun, who in 1860 presided over the convention that nominated Lincoln for president, John G. Palfrey, the historian, Andrew Johnson, Alexander H. Stephens, and a group of men who later became prominent as leaders in the Confederacy. In the Senate were Daniel Webster, John C. Calhoun, Jefferson Davis, Thomas H. Benton, Simon Cameron, Lewis Cass, John A. Dix, and other men scarcely less noted. At this time Lincoln and Alexander H. Stephens were on the same side. Stephens several years after Lincoln's death, wrote of him as he knew him in Congress:

I knew Mr. Lincoln well and intimately, and we were both ardent supporters of General Taylor for president in 1848. Mr. Lincoln, Toombs, Preston, myself and others formed the first Congressional Taylor Club, known as "The Young Indians," and organized the Taylor movement, which resulted in his nomination. Mr. Lincoln was careless as to his manners, awkward in his speech, but was possessed of a very strong, clear, vigorous mind. He always attracted and riveted the attention of the House when he spoke. His manner of speech as well as his thought was original. He had no model. He was a man of strong convictions, and what Carlyle would have called an earnest man. He abounded in anecdotes. He illustrated everything he was talking about by an anecdote, always exceedingly apt and pointed, and socially he always kept his company in a roar of laughter.

What Lincoln thought about Stephens may be inferred from the following letter to Herndon:

Washington, Feb. 2, 1848.

Dear William:

I just take up my pen to say that Mr. Stephens, of Georgia, a little, slim, pale-faced, consumptive man, with a voice like Logan's, has just concluded the very best speech of an hour's length I ever heard. My old, withered, dry eyes are full of tears

yet. If he writes it out anything like he delivered it our people shall see a good many copies of it.

Yours truly,
A. Lincoln.

The allusion to the voice of Stephen T. Logan is of interest, as his thin, whining tone was a matter of mirthful comment in Springfield.

Little did either Lincoln or Stephens think how they were later to meet as the Civil War was drawing to its close when they were to engage in fruitless negotiations for peace.

Lincoln was ambitious to distinguish himself in Congress. A few days after the House met, he closed a letter to Herndon thus:

By way of experiment, and of getting the hang of the House, I made a little speech two or three days ago on a post-office question of no general interest. I find speaking here and elsewhere almost the same thing. I was about as badly scared and no more than when I speak in court.

Lincoln was on the Committee on Post-Offices and Post Roads. This gave him an excuse for his first address. On December 22, 1847, he introduced a series of resolutions which have become famous as the "Spot Resolutions." He quoted in his preamble, from President Polk's Message of May 11, 1846, in which the president charged that Mexico had invaded our territory and shed the blood of our citizens on our own soil. In these resolutions, Lincoln proposed that Congress should request the president to designate "the spot" where this invasion and bloodshed on the part of Mexico had occurred. On January 12, 1848, he called up the resolutions and made a speech upon them. It was a sensible and very clear speech, and won Lincoln immediate recognition. One paragraph in this speech was often quoted against him in the four years beginning with 1861:

Any people anywhere, being inclined and having the power, have the *right* to rise up and shake off the existing government, and form a new one that suits them better. This is a most valuable, a most sacred right,—a right which, we hope and believe, is

to liberate the world. Nor is this right confined to cases in which the whole people of an existing government may choose to exercise it. Any portion of such people, that *can,* may revolutionize, and make their *own* of so much of the territory as they inhabit.

Of Lincoln's brief experience as a "Yearling" in the House of Representatives, we have a brief account by Elihu B. Washburne:*

Mr. Lincoln took his seat in Congress on the first Monday in December, 1847. I was in attendance on the Supreme Court of the United States at Washington that winter, and as he was the only member of Congress from the State who was in harmony with my own political sentiments, I saw much of him and passed a good deal of time in his room. He belonged to a mess that boarded at Mrs. Spriggs, in "Duff Green's Row" on Capitol Hill. At the first session, the mess was composed of John Blanchard, John Dickey, A. R. McIlvaine, James Pollock, John Strohm, of Pennsylvania; Elisha Embree, of Indiana; Joshua R. Giddings, of Ohio; A. Lincoln, of Illinois, and P. W. Tompkins, of Mississippi. The same members composed the mess at Mrs. Spriggs' the short session, with the exception of Judge Embree and Mr. Tompkins. Without exception, these gentlemen are all dead. He sat in the old hall of the House of Representatives, and for the long session was so unfortunate as to draw one of the most undesirable seats in the hall. He participated but little in the active business of the House, and made the personal acquaintance of but few members. He was attentive and conscientious in the discharge of his duties, and followed the course of legislation closely. When he took his seat in the House, the campaign of 1848 for president was just opening. Out of the small number of Whig members of Congress who were favorable to the nomination of General Taylor by the Whig Convention, he was one of the most ardent and outspoken.

Some of Lincoln's messmates at Mrs. Spriggs's table he was to know again in after life. James Pollock, of Pennsylvania, became in 1861, by Lincoln's appointment, director of the mint at

**Reminiscences of Abraham Lincoln by Distinguished Men of His Times,* pp. 17-18.

Philadelphia; it was he who first placed on the coinage of the United States the motto, "In God We Trust." Joshua R. Giddings was already a leader of note and it is believed with some reason that Lincoln's anti-slavery sentiments may have been strengthened by association with him during this period.

As the only Whig congressman from Illinois, Lincoln had more than what might otherwise have been his share of appointments on committees of arrangement for formal functions officially or semi-officially under authority of Congress. He was one of the official managers of the inauguration ball in honor of President Taylor. He and Stephen A. Douglas were the Illinois delegation on the committee in charge of the celebration of Washington's birthday in 1848. A pathetic postponement of this celebration occurred by reason of the impending death of John Quincy Adams, who was stricken with paralysis in the House on February twenty-first, and died two days later. The Washington's birthday celebration was postponed until March first; Lincoln was on the committee in charge of the funeral of ex-President Adams.

Those who remembered in later years the appearance of Lincoln in the House, recalled that the House Post-office was a favorite lounging-place of his, and that there, as at Mrs. Spriggs's table, his stories were highly popular.

Early in July, 1848, Lincoln attended, as a delegate from Illinois, the Whig National Convention in Philadelphia. He was an enthusiastic advocate of General Zachary Taylor, and was happy to have had a share in his nomination. Returning to Congress, he found prompt opportunity to make upon the floor a campaign speech, in favor of Taylor, and against General Cass, the Democratic candidate. It is fair to assume that he had his old constituents in mind rather than members of the House in making this speech. Its humor and sarcasm were of the general type of stump oratory in that period.

Lincoln had opposed the Mexican War, which on July 4, 1848, was officially ended by promulgation of a treaty of peace.

He had voted for supplies for the troops, but he voted against practically everything else that furthered the plans of Polk's administration.

He voted repeatedly for the Wilmot Proviso, an amendment or rider introduced by David Wilmot, from Pennsylvania, declaring that it should be a condition to the acquisition of any territory from Mexico, "that neither slavery nor involuntary servitude should ever exist in any part thereof, except for crime, whereof the party should be duly convicted." This proviso was adopted in the House but died in the Senate.

Lincoln's most important and significant act while in Congress was his introduction into the House of a bill providing for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. The persons already slaves were to be gradually emancipated with compensation to their owners. No slaves were to be imported into the district, and all children born to slave parents were to be free. Lincoln did not like the Fugitive Slave Law. As he wrote to Speed, he disliked to see the poor creatures hunted down and returned to their unrequited toil. But he was a Whig and remained a Whig until the very end of that party. Not liking the Fugitive Slave Law, he believed that the South was entitled to some such protection; and in the bill which he introduced into Congress, January 10, 1849, providing for the gradual emancipation of slaves within the District of Columbia, was a section which would have enacted a fugitive slave law for that district. The previous Fugitive Slave Law had not applied in the District of Columbia. Southern people brought their slaves with them and took them away again; but a slave escaping from his master and reaching the District of Columbia could not be dragged back to slavery from under the shadow of the Capitol of the Republic. Slaves were, however, bought and sold in the District of Columbia. The fifth section of this bill, enacting a fugitive slave law for the District of Columbia, raised deep indignation on the part of the abolitionists. The bill did not become a law, and so attracted no large immediate attention. But when in 1860,

Abraham Lincoln was nominated as president of the United States, Wendell Phillips denounced Lincoln as "the slave-hound of Illinois." Had Lincoln's bill been only a bill to enable masters to recover their runaway slaves who escaped to Washington, this severe epithet might have been justified; but the fifth section was a concession aimed to assist in securing the passage of a bill whose real purpose was the restriction of slavery. Lincoln was willing to concede the operation of the Fugitive Slave Law in the District of Columbia as it held throughout the North, if thereby he could secure the final abolition of slavery in the capital of the nation. This being Lincoln's manifest intent, the fiery words of Phillips are seen to be unjust.

Mr. Arnold in summing up the record of Lincoln in the Legislature of Illinois says:

> If he had died at the close of his service in the General Assembly, neither the nation nor his own state would have known much of Abraham Lincoln. He had not yet developed those great qualities, nor rendered those great services, which have since made him known throughout the world. All who closely studied his history will observe that he continued to grow and expand in intellect and character to the day of his death.*

At the close of Lincoln's single term in Congress not much could have been added to the foregoing statement. Lincoln did not feel that his experience as a member of Congress had been a brilliant one. He hoped that it was the beginning of his career in national politics. Instead, he soon came to believe that it was the end.

*Arnold, *Life of Lincoln*, p. 60.

CHAPTER XX

LINCOLN OUT OF POLITICS
1849-1854

LINCOLN completed his one term in Congress with the unhappy realization that he must not permit his name to be used as a candidate to succeed himself, and that even if he were at liberty to do so, he could not be reelected. He and Logan and Hardin and Baker had agreed that the Whig nomination for representative in Congress from the district to which Springfield belonged, should be passed around among them. There was always, of course, a possibility that a man once in Congress might establish such a record that the people would rise up and demand his renomination and election. Hardin hoped that he had done his work so creditably that the people would demand his return. They did not demand it and Lincoln was unwilling that they should demand it. Lincoln secured his nomination by the withdrawal of Hardin on a general understanding which Lincoln expressed that "turn about was fair play." When Lincoln saw his term nearing its end, he himself began to seek for some indication that the people would demand his reelection. In this he was disappointed. Not many people in Springfield were interested in his support of the Wilmot Proviso, or in his bill to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia; but many were offended because he did not more ardently support the administration during the War with Mexico. Viewed from this distance, Lincoln's course in these matters appears to have been decidedly to his credit. We can say that his career in Congress, while not brilliant, was distinctly creditable. The system whereby the office of representative in Congress was handed around,

was a bad system; and the period of Lincoln's service would have been a good time to break it. But Lincoln's constituents were otherwise minded, and Lincoln was a man of honor. He had made a bad bargain and he stood by it.

Mrs. Lincoln was in Washington with Lincoln during the major part of his first winter there. The taste which she had of Washington life made her very willing to consider remaining there. During the second winter she was in Springfield attending to her family cares; but she would have looked with favor upon a proposal that would have given herself and her husband a permanent home in the nation's capital.

Lincoln supported Taylor in the Philadelphia convention in 1848. He believed that Taylor could win, and he was sure that Clay could not. Taylor was "a Whig but not an ultra Whig." As a popular soldier in the Mexican War, he could count upon considerable support from those who favored the War with Mexico, while as a Whig he might expect the united support of those who had opposed the War with Mexico. He hardly recognized himself as a Whig; his party platform had to prove it. Any one could qualify as a Whig if he could defeat a Democrat.

In this, Taylor and his supporters were mistaken. James Russell Lowell in the *Biglow Papers* spoke for a large number of influential Whigs in bitter opposition to Taylor and all associated with him. In Massachusetts there was a formidable secession of Whig leaders growing out of Taylor's nomination. This was the historic Free-soil movement which at one time appeared so significant. It was led by Henry Wilson, Charles Francis Adams, Charles Sumner, Anson Burlingame, John A. Andrew, E. Rockwood Hoar, John G. Palfrey, and other men of scarcely less prominence. This secession alarmed the Whig leaders of New England. They invited certain western speakers, including Lincoln, to come to Massachusetts and deliver stump speeches in behalf of Taylor. Lincoln was happy to accept. He wanted to help elect Taylor, and he had no doubt that Taylor would reward him for his assistance.

Congress adjourned August 14, 1848. Lincoln went to New England early in September. The Whig State Convention met in Worcester, September 13, 1848. Nowhere in New England was the Free-soil secession more formidable than in Worcester. Lincoln delivered an address at the City Hall on the evening before the convention. The burden of his address was his opposition to the Free-soil Party, whose leaders, as he alleged, by their withdrawal from the Whig ticket, were helping to elect Cass. In the main, his address appears to have been tactful and cogent; but an allusion which he made to the murder of Lovejoy, with no word of condemnation for those who had committed that atrocity, was deemed by the Free-soilers to be heartless, and Lincoln was careful to omit it from his subsequent speeches. Lincoln's argument in all his New England addresses was that the nation's hope of relief from the iniquity of the Democratic Party lay in the united support of the Whig candidate; and that any votes withdrawn from the Whig Party in support of the Free-soil ticket were half votes for Cass and the Democrats. This line of argument has been employed against all attempts to create new parties and probably will continue to be employed for many generations to come.

On the morning of September fourteenth, Lincoln spoke again in Worcester, this time at an open air meeting. At the convention which was held that day, he heard, among others, a brilliant speech by Rufus Choate, and another from Robert C. Winthrop, Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Lincoln spoke in Boston, in Washington Hall on Bromfield Street, on Friday, September fifteenth. He spoke in Lowell on Saturday, September sixteenth. He delivered an address in Richmond Hall, Lower Mills, Dorchester, on Monday, September eighteenth. On Tuesday, September nineteenth, he spoke in Chelsea. On Wednesday, September twentieth, he spoke in the daytime in Temperance Hall in Dedham, and evoked so much enthusiasm that his audience was unwilling to have him leave for Cambridge, where he spoke that night. On Friday,

September twenty-second, he and William H. Seward spoke in Tremont Temple. This is said to have been the only political speech that Seward ever delivered in Boston. Seward's *Life* records that after this meeting as they sat together in their hotel, Lincoln said:

"Governor Seward, I have been thinking about what you said in your speech. I reckon you are right. We have got to deal with this slavery question and got to give much more attention to it hereafter than we have been doing."*

The Whig newspaper, *The Atlas,* gave more than a column to Seward's speech, but stated that it had no room for the notes which had been taken of Lincoln's. It described Lincoln's speech, however, as "powerful and convincing," and said that it was "cheered to the echo."

None of Lincoln's New England addresses are preserved in full. Herndon thus summarizes the impression which he made:

It is evident from all the contemporary reports that Mr. Lincoln made a marked impression on all his audiences. Their attention was drawn at once to his striking figure; they enjoyed his quaintness and humor; and they recognized his logical power and his novel way of putting things. Still, so far as his points are given in the public journals, he did not rise at any time above partisanship. And he gave no sign of the great future which awaited him as a political antagonist, a master of language, and a leader of men. But it should be noted, in connection with this estimate, that the Whig case, as put in that campaign, was chiefly one of personalities, and was limited to the qualities and career of Taylor as a soldier, and to ridicule of his opponent, General Cass. Mr. Lincoln, like other Whig speakers, labored to prove that Taylor was a Whig.

Many requests came to the Whig Committee for addresses to be delivered by Lincoln, but on the day following the Tremont Temple speech he started for his home in Illinois. On the whole,

*Seward's *Life,* ii, p. 80.

he made a good impression in New England, and he went back to Springfield with renewed conviction that Taylor would win and that Lincoln would not lose his reward.

On his way home from New England, Lincoln stopped at Niagara Falls, and continued his homeward journey by way of Lake Erie. It was on this voyage that this vessel got stranded on a sand-bar and the captain ordered the deck hands to fasten together empty barrels and force them under the water beside the boat. This was what set Lincoln's mind to work on an invention for lifting vessels over shoals by means of expansive buoyant air chambers. Lincoln obtained a patent upon this device. It is the most eagerly sought of the models in the Patent Office in Washington. So far as is known it was never employed by any vessel, but it bears interesting evidence of Lincoln's mechanical genius and his interest in navigation.

On his way back to Springfield, Lincoln stopped in Chicago, and there delivered his first campaign speech in that city. He had spoken there but once, and then briefly, at the River and Harbor Convention in July, 1847. On Friday evening, October 6, 1848, he spoke for two hours in the interests of General Taylor.

It is worth noticing that his next formal address in that city was on Thursday, July 25, 1850, when he delivered, by invitation of the Common Council, and also of a committee of influential Whigs, an address commemorative of President Taylor, who died in office July 9, 1850.*

Lincoln appears not to have realized until his return to Springfield the extent to which sentiment in his own district had changed regarding him. Lincoln wrote to Herndon in January, 1848, in an effort to discover whether his constituents were likely to rise up and demand his reelection. He said:

I made the declaration that I would not be a candidate again,

*This address, but recently discovered, has been published in a limited edition, with an introduction by William E. Barton. The publishers are Messrs. Houghton Mifflin Company.

more from a wish to deal fairly with others, to keep peace among our friends, and to keep the district from going to the enemy, than from any cause personal to myself; so that if it should happen that if nobody else wishes to be elected, I could not refuse the people the right of sending me again. But to enter myself as a competitor of others, or to authorize any one so to enter me, is what my word and honor forbid.

Herndon was not entirely unwilling that Lincoln should be disillusioned. He knew how a group of men, who had been for some time prominent in Whig politics, had parceled out all prospective political favors among themselves, leaving, as Herndon believed, no hope for younger men or for the party. He believed that the Whig Party was going on the rocks and he was willing to see it go. He felt strongly resentful of the attitude of the older politicians, and a little later, told Lincoln so. He said in respect to certain letters which Lincoln wrote to him, while Lincoln was still in Washington:

He was endeavoring through me to rouse up all the enthusiasm among the youth of Springfield possible under the circumstances. But I was disposed to take a dispirited view of the situation, and therefore was not easily warmed up. I felt at this time, somewhat in advance of its occurrence, the death-throes of the Whig Party. I did not conceal my suspicions, and one of the Springfield papers gave my sentiments liberal quotation in its columns. I felt gloomy over the prospect, and cut out these newspaper slips and sent them to Lincoln. Accompanying these I wrote him a letter equally melancholy in tone, in which among other things I reflected severely on the stubbornness and bad judgment of the old fossils in the party who were constantly holding the young men back.

This was the communication to which Lincoln replied in his well-known letter of July 10, 1848, in which he advised Herndon to get over his feeling of jealousy, and to depend upon his own exertions, assuring Herndon that he himself had never waited for old men to hunt him up and push him forward. Lincoln wrote as an old man, being at that time thirty-nine years old.

His associations, however, were with the older element of the Whig Party.

When he came to see that he was not going to be asked to run again, he frankly accepted the situation as one in which he was already bound by his word and honor. He made no effort to secure a renomination. He stepped aside for Judge Stephen T. Logan, who was duly nominated and defeated. The defection in the Whig Party in Lincoln's district was more serious than he thought.

Lincoln immediately began to consider what office he could secure for himself by presidential appointment. The best political plum which was likely to fall to an Illinois Whig was that of commissioner of the Land Office in Washington. Other men besides Lincoln had their eyes on this. Lincoln wrote to Speed:

> I believe that, so far as the Whigs in Congress are concerned, I could have the General Land Office almost by common consent; but then Sweet and Don Morrison and Cyrus Edwards all want it, and, what is worse, while I think I could easily take it myself, I fear I should have trouble to get it for any other man in Illinois.

Lincoln found that he could not get the Land Office for any of these men, and he set himself industriously to obtain it for himself. He was correct in his judgment that he could more probably secure it for himself than for any of these applicants, and he greatly desired it. Nevertheless, he made no effort to obtain it until it became evident that none of these men could have it; either it would come to Lincoln himself or to Justin Butterfield, of Chicago.

There was more than one reason why Lincoln did not desire that Butterfield should have the position. Butterfield was a Whig who had supported the Mexican War. Butterfield represented the growing Whig interests in the northern end of the state. Whatever hope Lincoln and his friends had of retaining their prestige with the Whig administration depended upon

their standing out against the ascendent interests of Chicago in Whig politics. Before Lincoln left Washington in the summer of 1848 he discovered the impossibility of securing the Land Office for Cyrus Edwards. On May 19, 1849, he wrote a letter to Judge Gillespie saying that Butterfield would be commissioner of the General Land Office unless prevented by strong and speedy efforts. He did not suggest to Gillespie who was to be recommended instead of Butterfield, but he declared that Butterfield's appointment would be a fatal blunder to the administration and to the Whigs of Illinois.

When Cyrus Edwards learned that Lincoln had applied for the position himself, he was offended, and accused Lincoln of treachery. There appears no ground for this charge; on the contrary, Lincoln appears to have been loyal to his political friends to his own disadvantage. Had he earlier inaugurated his own campaign, quite possibly he might have received the appointment. But Justin Butterfield* had personal friends in New England who had personal influence with Daniel Webster. Webster had not favored the election of Taylor, but he was too prominent a Whig to be ignored. Moreover, it was evident that the Whig Party must increasingly find its support in northern Illinois. President Taylor appointed Butterfield against Lincoln's strenuous endeavor to secure the position for himself.

Lincoln went back to Springfield and faced a constituency disgruntled by his career in Congress, and he had to meet Judge Logan, who had some reason to feel that he owed his own defeat to Lincoln's opposition to the Mexican War. He had also to meet Cyrus Edwards, who unjustly accused Lincoln of treachery. It was anything but a cheerful experience for Abraham Lincoln. Again he wrote thus to Joseph Gillespie:

*Justin Butterfield was born in Keene, N. H., in 1790. He studied at Williams College, and was admitted to the bar at Watertown, N. Y., in 1812. After some years of practise in New York State he removed to New Orleans, and in 1835, to Chicago. He soon attained high rank in his profession. In 1841, he was appointed by President Harrison, United States District Attorney. He was logical and resourceful and many stories are told of his quick wit. He died October 25, 1855.

Springfield, July 13, 1849.

Dear Gillespie:

Mr. Edwards is unquestionably offended with me in connection with the matter of the General Land Office. He wrote a letter against me which was filed at the Department.

The better part of one's life consists of his friendships; and, of them, mine with Mr. Edwards was one of the most cherished. I have not been false to it. At a word I could have had the office any time before the Department was committed to Mr. Butterfield—at least Mr. Ewing and the president say as much. That word I forbore to speak, partly for other reasons, but chiefly for Mr. Edwards' sake—losing the office that he might gain it. I was always for [him]; but to lose his *friendship,* by the effort for him, would oppress me very much, were I not sustained by the utmost consciousness of rectitude. I first determined to be an applicant, unconditionally, on the 2d of June; and I did so then upon being informed by a telegraphic despatch that the question was narrowed down to Mr. B. and myself, and that the Cabinet had postponed the appointment three weeks for my benefit. Not doubting that Mr. Edwards was wholly out of the question, I nevertheless, would not then have become an applicant had I supposed he would thereby be brought to suspect me of treachery to him. Two or three days afterwards a conversation with Levi Davis convinced me Mr. Edwards was dissatisfied; but I was then too far in to get out. His own letter, written on the 25th of April, after I had fully informed him of all that had passed, up to within a few days of that time, gave assurance I had that entire confidence from him which I felt my uniform and strong friendship for him entitled me to. Among other things it says: "Whatever course your judgment may dictate as proper to be pursued shall never be excepted to by me." I also had a letter from Washington, saying Chambers, of the *Republic,* had brought a rumor there, that Mr. E. had declined in my favor, which rumor I judged came from Mr. E. himself, as I had not then breathed of his letter to any living creature. In saying I had never, before the 2d of June, determined to be an applicant, *unconditionally,* I mean to admit that, before then, I had said, substantially, I would take the office rather than it should be lost to the State, or given to one in the State whom the Whigs did not want; but I aver that in every instance in which I spoke of myself I intended to keep, and now

believe I did keep, Mr. E. above myself. Mr. Edwards' first suspicion was that I had allowed Baker to overreach me, as his friend, in behalf of Don Morrison. I know this was a mistake; and the result has proved it. I understand his view now is, that if I had gone to open war with Baker I could have ridden him down, and had the thing all my own way. I believe no such thing. With Baker and some strong man from the Military tract and elsewhere for Morrison, and we and some strong men from the Wabash and elsewhere for Mr. E., it was not possible for either to succeed. I believed this in March, and I *know* it now. The only thing which gave either any chance was the very thing Baker and I proposed—an adjustment with themselves.

You may wish to know how Butterfield finally beat me. I cannot tell you particulars now, but will when I see you. In the meantime, let it be understood I am not greatly dissatisfied—I wish the office had been so bestowed as to encourage our friends in future contests, and I regret exceedingly Mr. Edwards' feelings towards me. These two things away, I should have no regrets—at least I think I would not. Write me soon.

Your friend, as ever,
A. Lincoln.

Lincoln returned to Springfield disappointed, humiliated and burdened. He had lost favor with his own constituents, but being a Whig in a Whig administration he had not released himself from the responsibilities of his former position. The defeat of Judge Logan left Lincoln, though without office, responsible for the Whig patronage of his district. He was compelled to take the responsibility and blame of securing offices for other men, and could get nothing that he wanted for himself. The high standing to which he should have been entitled as the only Whig representative from Illinois in the preceding Congress, and as one who had labored effectively to secure Taylor's nomination and election, had not come to him. He was rocked in the trough of the political sea. The Whigs at Springfield blamed him for Judge Logan's defeat, and the administration at Washington gave him no credit for Taylor's victory. His law practise had suffered by his absence. There was only one bright

star in his sky. He had lived economically in Washington, and saved up money enough to pay the balance of the debt which he had incurred in New Salem. It had taken him fifteen years to establish himself in business and remove this burdensome obligation. It had been in part a debt of honor and he had honorably discharged it. Whatever his mistakes in the Legislature and in Congress, he had not profited financially by any of the various opportunities which political life had offered to him. By hard toil and painful economy he had paid his debt. Having done this, he was compelled to begin life over again.

The new administration was not totally oblivious of its obligation to Abraham Lincoln. Though President Taylor did not see fit to offer him the Land Office in Washington, his successor, President Fillmore, did offer him the governorship of Oregon. Lincoln was sorely tempted to accept. He anticipated little joy in Springfield. There was much that was irksome to him in the practise of law. He did not care much to be governor of the territory, but he reflected that before long Oregon would be a state, and that the territorial governor would stand a chance of being one of the first senators.

Mrs. Lincoln vetoed this proposition. She had no intention of going to live in Oregon. If she could not live in Washington, Springfield was the next best thing. Her home was there, and her friends were there, and she had more faith than Lincoln had just then in his political future.

In considering Lincoln's political position in 1849, we are impressed by his caution and conservatism. He was not an abolitionist; he was not even a Free-soiler. He had not yet risen to the high vision of his subsequent statesmanship. In his several efforts to limit the power of slavery, notably by his support of the Wilmot Proviso, and his bill for the elimination of slavery in the District of Columbia, he manifested the faith that was surely in him, but he did not carry his convictions beyond the restricted limits of their logical requirement. He did not belong to the more progressive element of the Whig Party. He had

seen Clay defeated in 1844, and he advocated the nomination and election of Taylor, chiefly because he believed that Taylor was the Whig candidate who would most certainly be elected. He wrote almost exultantly concerning the prospects for the election of "Old Rough and Ready" because Taylor would gather in large numbers of the disaffected. He said:

In my opinion we shall have a most overwhelming triumph. One unmistakable sign is that all the odds and ends are with us —Barn-burners, Native Americans, Tyler men, disappointed office-seeking locofocos, and the Lord knows what not. Taylor's nomination takes the locos on the blind side. It turns the war thunder against them. The war is now to them the gallows of Haman, which they built for us and on which they are doomed to be hanged themselves.

Lincoln was correct in his prediction concerning the election of Taylor, but entirely mistaken in supposing that the Whig Party was to be permanently stronger by the accretion of these odds and ends. Not only in Massachusetts, but in his own district, was the Whig Party disintegrated by the loss of some of its most valuable strength.

It is interesting to recall that Lincoln gained no marked political advantage from his visit to Massachusetts. The Whig leaders whom he met on that journey did not become his permanent friends or political supporters. George Lunt, who presided at Tremont Temple when Lincoln and Seward gave their addresses there, was to the end of his life a pro-slavery conservative. Honorable Benjamin F. Thomas met Lincoln at the Worcester Convention, and spoke on the same platform at the open air meeting, but as a member of Congress in the early part of the Civil War he was obstructive of the president's policy. Honorable Rufus Choate, whose acquaintance Lincoln formed in New England, died in 1859, "but judged by his latest utterances, his marvelous eloquence would have been no patriotic inspiration if he had outlived the national struggle." Honorable Robert C. Winthrop, whom Lincoln had met on the platform in New Eng-

land, presided over the House of Representatives during Lincoln's first term, voted against Lincoln in 1860 and again in 1864. On the other hand, the Free-soilers whom Lincoln went to Massachusetts to discredit, became to a man his supporters. Charles Sumner and Henry Wilson and Charles Francis Adams and John A. Andrew and Anson Burlingame and Charles A. Dana and John G. Palfrey in 1848 were all on the stump against Taylor when Lincoln was speaking for him, but they became during the Civil War Lincoln's stalwart supporters.

We can not help asking, and we need not attempt to answer, whether it would have been better if Lincoln in 1847 had entirely abandoned the Whig Party and gone with the Free-soilers? Would it have been better if he could have discerned that the defeat of Clay in 1844 was really the doom of the Whig Party and of all schemes of compromise? Would he have been a braver, more capable leader, if at that time he had joined the ranks of the ardent young Free-soilers who were demanding release from the footless series of makeshifts which for years had prevented the Whigs from accomplishing their mission?

Abraham Lincoln retired from politics before the Whig Party met its final and utter doom. Wearily and sadly he went back to Springfield, and took up again the practise of law.

CHAPTER XXI

LINCOLN AS A LAWYER
1848-1860

LINCOLN's partnership with Colonel Stuart was dissolved when Stuart became a member of Congress. The partnership with Judge Logan was dissolved because both he and Lincoln desired to be elected to Congress, and Logan, who was an older man of established reputation, did not look with favor upon the aspirations of his junior partner. On the same day on which the firm of Logan and Lincoln dissolved, the firm of Lincoln and Herndon was established in a partnership between Abraham Lincoln and William H. Herndon. This partnership was never dissolved but continued until the death of Lincoln.

During Lincoln's partnership with Stuart, that gentleman was looking after his own political interests, and left Lincoln largely in charge of the office. During Lincoln's short partnership with Judge Logan, Lincoln was forced, against his inclination, to pay attention to the details of legal practise, for Judge Logan was a successful lawyer, and accurate in the drawing of all legal documents.

In each of these two offices Lincoln as the younger man was the one more readily available to send out upon unimportant cases in other county-seats. Lincoln liked this work much better than he liked office work, and continued it during his partnership with Herndon. A part of the time Herndon accompanied him on his travels; but Lincoln established a method of becoming associate counsel with some local lawyer in almost every county-seat in the judicial district, and this obviated the neces-

sity of taking his associate with him, reduced expense of travel, and kept his partner in the office.

These local associations are often spoken of as partnerships; they were not technically so. Lincoln had but three partners, as heretofore indicated. But he had a number of more or less permanent associations, some of them continuing for a number of years and making him a *quasi* member of several different firms. Usually his local associate was a younger lawyer, who found it an advantage to be able to offer the service of Lincoln with his own, and so to increase the number of his clients and his hope of winning his cases.

Milton Hay, who was a law-student when Lincoln was in practise in Springfield, and who at times shared Lincoln's bed, says of the legal practise of those days:

In forming our ideas of Lincoln's growth and development as a lawyer, we must remember that in those early days litigation was very simple as compared with that of modern times. Population was sparse and society scarcely organized, land was plentiful and employment abundant. There was an utter absence of the abstruse questions and complications which now beset the law. There was no need of that close and searching study into principles and precedents which keeps the modern law-student buried in his office. On the contrary, the very character of this simple litigation drew the lawyer into the street and neighborhood, and into close and active intercourse with all classes of his fellow-men. The suits consisted of actions of tort and assumpsit. If a man had an uncollectible debt, the current phrase was, "I'll take it out of his hide." This would bring on an action for assault and battery. The free comments of the neighbors on the fracas or the character of the parties would be productive of slander suits. A man would for his convenience lay down an irascible neighbor's fence, and indolently forget to put it up again, and an action of trespass would grow out of it. The suit would lead to a free fight, and sometimes furnish the bloody incidents for a murder trial.

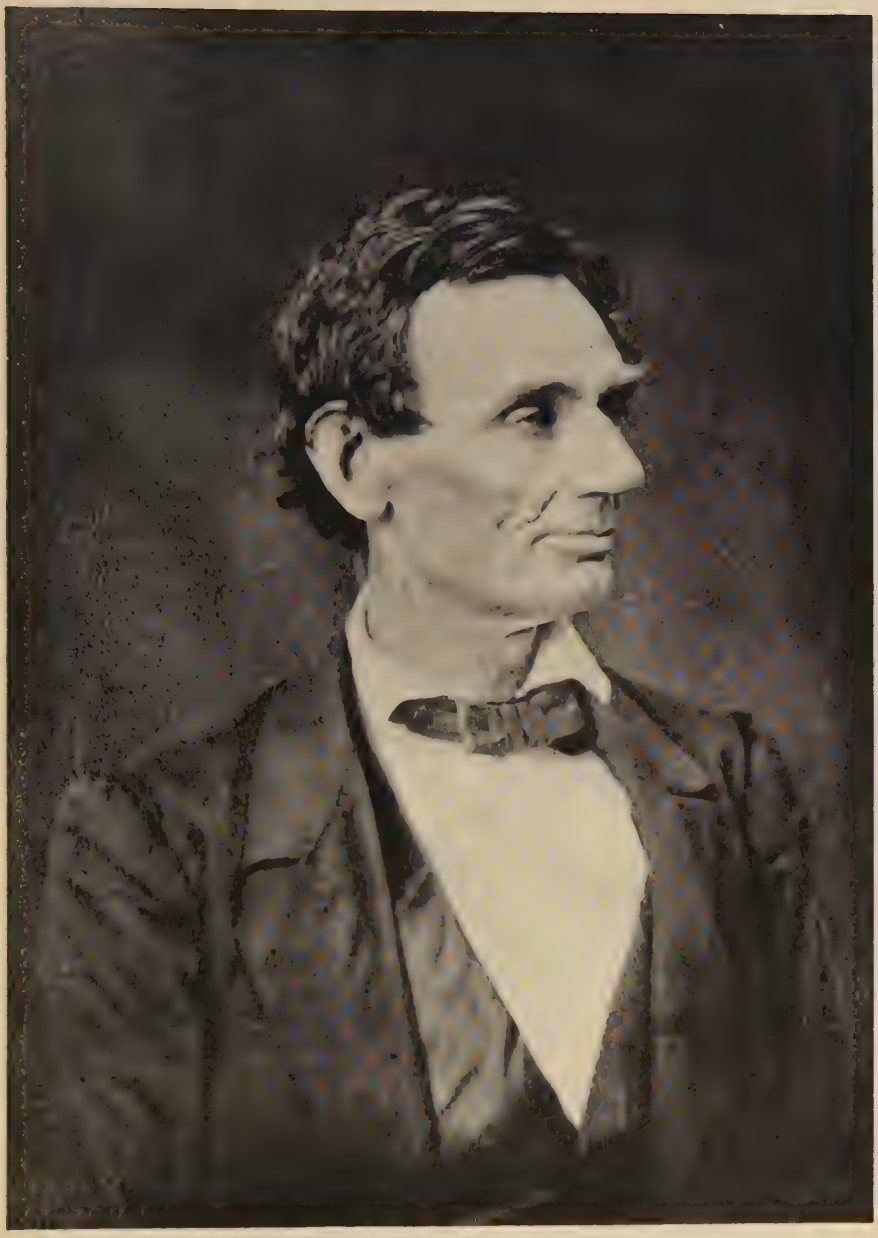
Occupied with this class of business, the half-legal, half-political lawyers were never found plodding in their offices. In

that case they would have waited long for the recognition of their talents or a demand for their services. Out of this characteristic of the times also grew the street discussions I have adverted to. There was scarcely a day or hour when a knot of men might not have been seen near the door of some prominent store, or about the steps of the court-house, eagerly discussing a current political topic—not as a question of news, for news was not then received quickly or frequently, as it is now, but rather for the sake of debate; and the men from the country, the pioneers and farmers, always gathered eagerly about these groups and listened with open-mouthed interest, and frequently manifested their approval or dissent in strong words, and carried away to their neighbors a report of the debaters' wit and skill. It was in these street talks that the rising and aspiring young lawyer found his daily and hourly forum. Often by good luck or prudence he had the field entirely to himself, and so escaped the dangers and discouragements of a decisive conflict with a trained antagonist.

During his term in Congress Lincoln continued as Herndon's partner, but his connection with the firm of Lincoln and Herndon had become merely nominal. Springfield was still his home, but Lincoln hoped that he was never to return to live in Springfield. One of the great disappointments of his life rose up and smote him when he went back to his dingy office. Law offices at the time were seldom orderly places, and that of Lincoln was regarded by other lawyers as the very most disorderly of them all. A new law student, who once undertook to put things in order, found upon the table a package of congressional garden seeds which had begun to sprout amid the accumulated litter.

Grant Goodrich, a Chicago lawyer, proposed in 1849 to take Lincoln into partnership, and suggested Lincoln's removal to that city. Lincoln declined the offer, giving as a reason that he tended to consumption, and if he moved to Chicago would have to address himself more diligently to office work than was good for him. He preferred a more general practise, and one that took him out upon the circuit.

Law practise in Lincoln's day was not specialized. Each



ABRAHAM LINCOLN
Photograph by Alexander H. Hessler

lawyer took whatever cases came to him. Criminal law, civil practise and equity cases were all included in the routine of every office. The people of central Illinois were litigious, but most of the practise was petty. There were lawsuits over line fences and the sale of livestock; there were criminal prosecutions for assault, and occasional trials for murder or arson. There were no personal-injury cases, but there was much prosecution for slander. Lincoln took his share in whatever cases came. Now and then he refused a case where he strongly believed that justice was on the other side. In a few instances where he felt that right lay wholly with the other party, he left the conduct of the case entirely to his partner. But in the main, Lincoln took whatever practise walked into his office or was secured by his local associate.

Herndon thus describes the return of Lincoln to practise, with some account of the change which at this time came over Lincoln:

While a member of Congress and otherwise immersed in politics Lincoln seemed to lose all interest in the law. Of course, what practise he controlled had passed into other hands. I retained all the business I could, and worked steadily on until, when he returned, our practise was as extensive as that of any other firm at the bar. Lincoln realized that much of this was due to my efforts, and on his return he therefore suggested that he had no right to share in the business and profits which I had made. I responded that as he had aided me and given me prominence when I was young and needed it, I could afford now to be grateful if not generous. I therefore recommended a continuation of the partnership, and we went on as before. I could notice a difference in Lincoln's movement as a lawyer from that time forward. He had begun to realize a certain lack of discipline—a want of mental training and method. Ten years had wrought some change in the law, and more in the lawyers, of Illinois. The conviction had settled in the minds of the people that the pyrotechnics of court room and stump oratory did not necessarily imply extensive or profound ability in the lawyer who resorted to it. The courts were becoming graver and more learned, and

the lawyer was learning that as a preliminary and indispensible condition to success he must be a close reasoner, besides having at command a broad knowledge of the principles on which the statutory law is constructed. There was of course the same riding on circuit as before, but the courts had improved in tone and morals, and there was less laxity—at least it appeared so to Lincoln. Political defeat had wrought a marked effect on him. It went below the skin and made a changed man of him. He was not soured at his seeming political decline, but still he determined to eschew politics from that time forward and devote himself entirely to the law. And now he began to make up for time lost in politics by studying law in earnest. No man had greater powers of application than he. Once fixing his mind on any subject, nothing could interfere or disturb him. Frequently I would go out on the circuit with him. We, usually, at the little country inns, occupied the same bed. In most cases the beds were too short for him, and his feet would extend over the foot-board, thus exposing a limited expanse of shin bone. Placing a candle on a chair at the head of the bed, he would read and study for hours. I have known him to study in this position till two o'clock in the morning. Meanwhile, I and others who chanced to occupy the same room would be safely and soundly asleep. On the circuit in this way he studied Euclid until he could with ease demonstrate all the propositions in the six books. How he could maintain his mental equilibrium or concentrate his thoughts on an abstract mathematical proposition while Davis, Logan, Swett, Edwards and I so industriously and volubly filled the air with our interminable snoring was a problem none of us could ever solve. I was on the circuit with Lincoln probably one-fourth of the time. The remainder of my time was spent in Springfield looking after the business there, but I know that life on the circuit was a gay one. It was rich with incidents, and afforded the nomadic lawyers ample relaxation from all irksome toil that fell to their lot. Lincoln loved it. I suppose it would be a fair estimate to state that he spent over half the year following Judges Treat and Davis around on the circuit. On Saturdays the court and attorneys, if within reasonable distance, would usually start for their homes. Some went for a fresh supply of clothing, but the greater number went simply to spend a day of rest with their families. The only exception was Lincoln, who usually spent his Sundays with the

loungers at the country tavern, and only went home at the end of the circuit or term of court.*

In this fashion Lincoln spent somewhat more than half his time from 1849 until 1860. The taverns were crude enough. In general they were two-story buildings with only a few large rooms. The lawyers were placed two in a bed, and most of the rooms had at least two beds. The food was abundant, but badly cooked. Lincoln was as nearly immune to the discomforts of tavern life as any of his associates. He never seemed to notice whether the food was good or poor, or whether the beds were clean or soiled. None of the beds were long enough for him, and he did not expect that they would be. He accepted the situation, and made the most of it without much conscious discomfort.

Lincoln once attempted some study of algebra, and his text-book on that subject is in the Library of the Chicago Historical Society. Inside the back cover are memoranda which he made in pencil, perhaps for use in an address to young lawyers, or instructions to a law-student: They are mere catch-words:

Your Honor—When in court—Face the Court
(Study) Be prepared to the full extent of the case tried.
Never contradict the court—
if so be sure you have the law without doubt
on your side—
Be on time when court is ready to call your case.
Converse with client—consent of court.
Have client appear neat as possible in front of court.

Whatever the purpose for which Lincoln designed these notes, their meagerness is apparent.

He traveled with Judge Davis from one county-seat to another, and if the judge had a bed to himself in the tavern it was not chiefly because his judicial dignity entitled him to it, but be-

**Life of Lincoln*, i, pp. 307-309.

cause his great bulk left but little room in the bed for a companion. In some of the taverns there was a room with a single bed for Judge Davis and a double bed occupied by Lincoln and some other lawyer. Into the judge's room in the evening were gathered nearly all the members of the bar and the choice spirits of the local county-seat, and they sat up late at night swapping stories, Lincoln being the acknowledged leader in the art of story-telling.

Some of the lawyers rode on horseback from one county-seat to another. Lincoln more frequently drove his own horse hitched to a buggy. He almost invariably had a brother lawyer in the seat with him. Sometimes, however, he depended upon the stage-coach, especially for reaching the more remote county-seats.

Only a part of his free time did Lincoln give to story-telling. He was always inclined to meditation, and the habit grew upon him. He usually rose earlier in the morning than his associates, and sometimes sat before the fire moodily meditating, and at other times reading in desultory fashion a volume which he had brought with him. Herndon, who was with him perhaps a fourth of the time, says:

During the six years following his retirement from Congress, Lincoln, realizing in a marked degree his want of literary knowledge, extended somewhat his research in that direction. He was naturally indisposed to undertake anything that savored of exertion, but his brief public career had exposed the limited area of his literary attainments. Along with his Euclid, therefore, he carried a well worn copy of Shakespeare.

Lincoln had always had an ear for poetry, though not for music. He committed stanzas of poetry, and sometimes entire poems, including Poe's *Raven* and other compositions generally of a mournful nature. In New Salem he had learned the poem, "Oh, why should the spirit of mortal be proud?" He may have learned this from Ann Rutledge, though her sister did not know

it, and could not remember that Ann knew it. It was Lincoln's favorite, and he often asked and probably never learned who was its author.*

Of the new vigor which Lincoln brought to the practise of the law in 1849, there can be no doubt. In his autobiographical sketch written for Jesse W. Fell he says:

> In 1846 I was once elected to the lower House of Congress. Was not a candidate for reelection. From 1849 to 1854, both inclusive, practised law more assiduously than ever before.

In his short autobiography written for Scripps, in June, 1860, he says, speaking throughout of himself in the third person:

> Upon his return from Congress he went to the practise of law with greater earnestness than ever before.

The Eighth Judicial District comprised thirteen counties.† There was one judge for the entire circuit. Honorable David Davis presided over this court during nearly the whole period of Lincoln's life as a lawyer after his return from Congress and until his inauguration as president. Lincoln had a growing practise outside this district, but the greater number of his cases were in these thirteen counties.

Lincoln's law cases were not all jury trials. He appeared as counsel in the Supreme Court of Illinois in one hundred seventy-five cases—a record equaled by very few lawyers in the history of the state. The greater number of these cases occurred after his return from Congress. In addition he appeared in two cases before the Supreme Court of the United States, to which he was admitted to practise March 7, 1849.

Before the Supreme Court of Illinois, he appeared alone as counsel in fifty-one cases, and thirty-one were decided in his

*The author was William Knox, an English poet. Lincoln and those who learned the poem from him called it "Immortality"—a most inappropriate title; the real title, given it by Knox, was "Mortality."

†For a description of the Eighth Judicial Circuit, see the Appendix.

favor. Of the whole number of cases in which he was associate counsel, one hundred twenty-four, the parties in whose behalf he appeared were successful in sixty-five. It would appear that Lincoln did not advise his clients to appeal to the Supreme Court unless there was a strong possibility of success; and that his own judgment in that matter averaged better than the judgment of attorneys with whom from time to time he was associated. Altogether the record is highly to his credit. Out of the whole number of cases, one hundred seventy-five, in which he appeared before the Supreme Court of Illinois, either alone or as associate counsel, he was successful in ninety-six.*

As Lincoln's fame grew, it was associated as attorney in a number of important cases, several of which have become notable. In 1855 occurred his suit as attorney for the Illinois Central Railroad. For this he received the large fee of five thousand dollars, one-half of which went to his partner, Herndon. There has been much dispute about this case. Herndon tells the story in a way that makes the action of the railroad a very ungenerous one and it is certain that Lincoln had to sue the company to secure this fee. The railroad company, however, gives a somewhat different version of the affair. The fee was large, and it was felt that some other authority than the attorney's demand for it should be given the officials of the company before they paid it. A friendly suit was therefore entered, and when Lincoln won, the company paid the amount promptly and cheerfully. This account of the affair might seem to lack probability were it not for the fact that the relations between the company and Lincoln appear to have remained friendly, and he acted as attorney for the Illinois Central Railroad afterward. It is often stated that the lawyer opposed to Lincoln in this case was George B. McClellan. This is not true. McClellan was out of the country at the time. It is true, however, that Lincoln's employment as attorney with the Illinois Central gave him his first acquaintance with McClellan.

**Abraham Lincoln—the Lawyer-Statesman,* by John T. Richards, pp. 64-70; *Lincoln, the Litigant,* by William H. Townsend.

Another case is notable for its bringing Lincoln into contact with a man who afterward sustained important relations to Lincoln. This was the well-known Reaper case which was tried in Cincinnati in September, 1855. Lincoln was junior counsel in this case, his associates being George Harding, of Philadelphia, and Edwin M. Stanton. Stanton was unfavorably impressed by Lincoln's appearance, and did not permit Lincoln to make one of the arguments in the case. Lincoln was deeply hurt by Stanton's incivility.

Lincoln's legal business brought him to Chicago occasionally, and there he practised in the District Court of the United States. The Chicago fire in 1871 destroyed the records of all these cases. Only two of them are known. The first of these was the case of *Hurd vs. the Rock Island Railroad Bridge.* It is popularly known as the "*Effie Afton* case." The *Effie Afton* was a steamboat owned in St. Louis. She ran against one of the piers of the Rock Island Railroad Bridge and took fire. The bridge was damaged and the boat was wholly destroyed. The case was considered of great importance, because St. Louis depended for its hope of growth on the commerce of the Mississippi River, and Chicago depended on her railroads and the lakes. It was popularly charged in Chicago that the St. Louis Board of Trade had bribed the steamboat captain to steer his boat against the pier of the bridge. Lincoln appeared for the Railroad Company. His argument is not on record, but it is remembered that he based his claim for the railroad upon the simple proposition that "one man has as good a right to cross the stream as another man had to navigate it."

The other case was that of *Johnson vs. Jones,* and was tried in the United States District Court in Chicago in April, 1860. But little more than a month later Lincoln was nominated to the presidency. This was his last appearance in the city of Chicago before his nomination. The case involved the ownership of certain lands north of the mouth of the Chicago River, formed by

*Reported in *McLean's U. S. Reports,* vi, p. 539.

accretion from the lake. It is popularly known as "the Sandbar Case." It had been in litigation for some years before Lincoln became connected with the case, and it subsequently went to the Supreme Court of the United States. Lincoln's connection with it, however, ceased with the trial in Chicago in April, 1860. This trial occupied several days. It was on the occasion of this visit that the Volk life-mask of Lincoln was made. Volk was a cousin by marriage of Stephen A. Douglas, and had already made a bust of Douglas. Lincoln's fame as an opponent of Douglas caused the sculptor to propose that Lincoln should sit for a life-mask. The undertaking was a complete success, and the result is a most perfect record of the living features of Abraham Lincoln.

While Lincoln was not notably a criminal lawyer, his practise was diversified, covering the whole range of civil and criminal law and equity and he appeared as attorney in not a few criminal cases. Most noted of these is the Armstrong case, which was tried in Beardstown, Illinois, May 7, 1858. This case has attained a prominence greater than it deserves, on account of Lincoln's personal relation to the parents of the defendant and a question which has risen concerning Lincoln's ethics in defense of a criminal. The trial arose out of the murder of a man named James Preston Metzker, which occurred near a camp-meeting at Virgin's Grove in Mason County, on Saturday night, August 29, 1857. It was illegal to sell liquor within one mile of a camp-meeting. A bar was established about a mile from the meeting, and a number of rough young men drank heavily. Among those drinking were Preston Metzker, James H. Norris and William Armstrong, popularly known as Duff. Duff Armstrong was the son of Jack Armstrong of the Clary Grove gang. A fight occurred between ten and eleven o'clock on the Saturday night in question, and Metzker was badly beaten by Norris and Armstrong. He rode away to his home, falling from his horse once or more, and on his arrival at home went to bed, having sustained severe injury. Three days later he died.

Both Norris and Armstrong were arrested, charged with the murder of Metzker. Norris already had killed a man named Thornburg, at Havana, about a year before, but had been acquitted on the ground of self-defense. He was tried for the murder of Metzker, was found guilty of manslaughter, and sentenced to the penitentiary for ten years. He served eight years, and then was pardoned by Governor Richard Yates.

The local attorneys for Armstrong secured for him a change of venue, which delayed the trial and caused it to be held in Beardstown some months later. Jack Armstrong, William Armstrong's father, died, and was buried in Concord Cemetery, where Ann Rutledge was first buried. His interment occurred on the very day of his son's arrest. His widow, "Aunt Hannah," drove to Springfield and besought Lincoln to come to Beardstown and defend her son. Lincoln promised to do so, and on the night before the trial he arrived in Beardstown.

The trial of Norris had disclosed the evidence of the prosecution. The local attorneys had doubtless informed Lincoln of its general character. The principal witness for the prosecution was Charles Allen. He had sworn in the trial of Norris that by the aid of the brightly shining moon he had seen the fatal blow inflicted by Armstrong with a slung-shot. Metzker, as the post mortem showed, had two wounds in the head, one in the back of the brain alleged to have been produced by Norris using the neck-yoke of a wagon, and the other in front, said to have been caused by a blow from Armstrong with the slung-shot. Either one of these blows, it was alleged, was sufficient to have caused the death of Metzker.* In the defense of Norris attempt had

*A reasonably full outline of the evidence in this case is on file in Springfield in the office of the governor. It was submitted July 10, 1863, by William W. Allen, who had been one of the attorneys for Norris. This evidence with all the documents accompanying was unearthed for me by Honorable Frank O. Lowden, at that time governor of Illinois. I was particularly desirous of learning whether in the appeal for a pardon for Norris it was alleged that Armstrong was really the guilty man. No such affirmation was made in the papers on file in Springfield. Rather, it was assumed that both men were falsely accused. The fight was not denied, but it was denied that Allen could have been a witness to the killing or either of the

been made to prove that Allen could not have witnessed the killing, as he was declared by certain witnesses to have been in another part of the grounds at that time; but no one in the first trial appears to have challenged the moonlight. Lincoln, however, produced an almanac showing that on the night in question the moon did not give sufficient light at the time the murder took place.

When Edward Eggleston published his story, *The Graysons,* he caused the issue of the trial to hinge upon this question of the position of the moon. He also represented the case of the crime as having occurred while Lincoln was still a young and obscure lawyer. Eggleston wrote this story while he was in Europe, and he took pains to state that he did not attempt to follow accurately the historic detail. The prominence which he gave to the almanac centered upon that pamphlet an attention far greater than it had received in the trial.

It has often been declared that Lincoln produced an almanac showing that there was no moon on the night of the murder. If such an almanac was produced, it was not a genuine almanac for the year and date in question. Professor Edwin B. Frost, of the Yerkes Observatory of the University of Chicago, Professor Joel Stebbins, Director of the Observatory of the University of Illinois, and Professor W. S. Eichelberger, of the United States Naval Observatory at Washington, have separately computed the position of the moon on the night in question and agree that it set in Cass County, Illinois, on Saturday night, August 29, 1857, at five minutes after midnight, that is, at five minutes after the beginning of Sunday.*

An almanac is in existence which claims to be the one which Lincoln used. It is an almanac ingeniously made over from one

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two men accused struck the fatal blow. The Armstrong evidence is not reviewed in the plea to the governor. But the evidence against Norris shows the essential character of the charge against Armstrong.

*I acknowledge the courtesy of these distinguished astronomers in making this computation for me. The point assumed by them was the center of Cass County and they all agreed precisely in their answer to my question.

of the year 1853.* If that almanac was the one really used, a fraud was perpetrated upon the court.

I have examined this almanac with great care, and compared the stories about its preparation. These stories for the most part agree that Lincoln himself, aided by some local penman, prepared the almanac on the night before the trial. It could not have been so prepared, nor does any story account for it as it is. I do not believe, however, that Abraham Lincoln used this fraudulent almanac. The reasons are these:

1. No fraud was necessary. The truth was all that Lincoln needed. There was a moon on the night in question, but it was too low down and too dim to have permitted Allen to see what he declared that he saw.

2. Lincoln could not have afforded such a fraud. He was at that time not an obscure lawyer in whom the ruse if discovered would have been pardoned as a clever trick, but was, next to Stephen A. Douglas, the most prominent man in Illinois politics. He had come within measurable distance of being chosen as his party's candidate for vice-president in 1856, was

*This almanac was in the Gunther collection. Mr. Gunther was an enthusiastic but not always a discriminating collector. His collection was sold to the Chicago Historical Society, which does not, however, profess any confidence in its genuineness. Gunther paid fifty dollars for it, and received with it a certificate from the man who sold the books of J. Henry Shaw, that this almanac was among those books. I have a signed statement from Mr. T. L. Mathews, formerly of Beardstown, but now of Fremont, Nebraska, a banker and a man of standing in that town, concerning the man who furnished this almanac:

"I knew him very well. He was not considered a very amicable man. He was a bitter Democrat, and was said to have been a member of the 'Knights of the Golden Circle.' He was arrested for disloyalty during the war, and taken to Jacksonville, and held there in custody for some time. Many years later, he produced this almanac, professing to have discovered it among the effects of J. Henry Shaw. I consider his claim without foundation. After Shaw died, his books and papers were placed in my charge, and I had an inventory made of them, and employed this man, who was an auctioneer, to sell them at public vendue. If he found such an almanac, he did not inform me, and retained it without my knowledge and without right to do so. When I read in the papers, some years after the sale, the story of the alleged discovery, I went to see him, and asked him to show me the almanac. In a hesitating way he answered that he had found the almanac, and had sold it to some person in New York, but could not give me the purchaser's name."

certain to be a candidate for senator, and was already mentioned as a candidate for the presidency in 1860.

Lincoln was not given to careful preparation of his criminal cases. He took them as they came, and depended far more upon his ability to influence a jury with the story of the kindness of Duff Armstrong's parents to him, when a poor boy, than he did upon astronomical evidence. Lincoln was well known in Beardstown. He spoke there against Douglas in the following year, not on the same day, for Beardstown was not one of the seven appointed places for joint debate, but on the day following the speech of Douglas. His returning to Beardstown for this trial was something of an event, for Lincoln was now at the head of the Illinois bar, and had been associated more or less intimately with Beardstown ever since his coming to Illinois.

Abraham Lincoln was a man of extreme caution. He was not reasonably, but unreasonably cautious. If he had been a man bad enough to perpetrate the fraud described, he had far too much at stake; and he did not need to do it. He knew how to make an appeal to a Beardstown jury that would clear Duff Armstrong, and he did it.

3. The fraud, if Lincoln had attempted it, would certainly have been discovered. The evidence had emphasized the fact that the murder occurred on Saturday night, the twenty-ninth of August, 1857. In the 1853 almanac, which was alleged to have been used, it was plainly shown that the twenty-ninth of August occurred on Monday. No juror looking down the column to find the figures "29" could have failed to note that the day shown in the next column was not Saturday but Monday. Neither the judge nor the opposing counsel would have permitted so palpable a fraud to have gone to the jury. Fourteen men at the very least inspected the almanac, the judge, the prosecuting attorney and the jury. It is barely possible that some one man out of the fourteen might have been stupid enough to be imposed upon, but certainly not the whole fourteen.

4. The almanac shown is one issued by the American Tract

Society. Several persons who were present at the trial have told me that Lincoln sent out to the drug store and obtained a patent medicine almanac which he used.* Lincoln knew that the moonlight would enter into the case, and doubtless had consulted the almanac and knew what it would show, and at the proper time he sent Jacob Jones, a cousin of Armstrong, across the corner to the drug store. Jones brought back the almanac, and Lincoln found the place, passed it to the judge, who gave it to the opposing counsel and it was then handed to the jury.

I am devoting more space to this incident than it deserves, because I have been told by so many and such respectable people about this fraud, which Lincoln is alleged to have perpetrated, that I have gone to unusual lengths to ascertain the facts. I do not wish to leave in the mind of the reader any doubt as to my own conviction of the matter. I think I have followed this question to the limit of possibility of learning further truth concerning it, and I believe that the almanac used by Lincoln was one obtained from the local drug store, and that it showed that there was a moon, but too low and dim to have enabled Allen to see what he declared that he had seen.

I regret to state that since I made my last examination of this almanac, in 1922, it has disappeared from the library of the Chicago Historical Society. At the present writing it is not known whether, being a small item, in an envelope, which came in with the Gunther Collection, it has been mislaid in the mass of that material, or whether it has been stolen. I do not think that those who profess to have examined this almanac gave it very careful attention, for their published accounts are not accurate; and I am glad to have examined it minutely, at different times, and with use of a microscope.

*The almanac which local tradition declares to have been used was *Ayer's American Almanac*. The general manager of the Ayer's Company informs me that their firm has always understood that their almanac was so employed and has sent me photographs of the title page and the page for August for 1857 made from the only copy of the almanac which the firm has. These photographs show plainly that the almanac as then issued showed the time of the sunrise and sunset and also the phases of the moon and time of its setting. That almanac, therefore, would have served his purpose.

I am able to state definitely that this almanac could not possibly have been produced in the hasty manner described by those who have undertaken to account for it. The changes required the use both of pen and type, and skill in the use of both. My own judgment is that it was made to sell.

The trial of Duff Armstrong attracted little attention at the time. In Springfield, all that was said was that Mr. Lincoln was out of town, trying a case in Beardstown. In Beardstown there was interest in his coming, but not much in the trial; the case had been brought over from another county, and no one in Beardstown was particularly concerned with it. Lincoln had no occasion to give the case more than usual attention. The trial of Norris had made him aware just what evidence would be introduced, and Lincoln knew its weak points. One man was in jail already for the murder, and popular demand for justice was fairly well satisfied.

That Lincoln was sure of securing an acquittal was shown on the night of his arrival in Beardstown, for the relatives of Duff came to him and told him that Allen, the principal witness against Armstrong, was not at all anxious to testify; that they had slipped him out of town; that he was staying in the hotel at Virginia, and the prosecution would fail without him. Lincoln insisted that they drive over to Virginia and produce Allen and have him in court in the morning. Lincoln knew that Allen would be compelled to say what he had said at the trial of Norris, but that he would not add to the story to the needless harm of Armstrong.

The trial was not nearly so dramatic as has been represented. The almanac was a mere incident. The real feature of the trial, and one that brought tears to the eyes of the jury, was Lincoln's story of how he came, a poor boy, to the home of Duff's father and mother, and how good they had been to him.

The prosecuting attorney, J. Henry Shaw, remembered what it was that impressed the jury:

He told the jury of his once being a poor, friendless boy; that Armstrong's parents took him into their home, fed and clothed him and gave him a home. There were tears in his eyes as he spoke. The sight of his tall, quivering frame, and the particulars of the story he so pathetically told, moved the jury to tears, and they forgot the guilt of the defendant in their admiration of the advocate. It was the most touching scene I ever witnessed.*

The prosecuting attorney believed Armstrong guilty, but he knew that his evidence was of little value against such a story. The almanac was chiefly useful as throwing additional doubt on the question whether Allen could have seen as much as he professed to see. Lincoln would have won easily without the almanac, but the almanac helped. And its use was legitimate.

5. Abraham Lincoln was too honest a man to have perpetrated a fraud of this character. In all the years of his practise no similar case is charged against him. His whole career at the bar proves him to have been morally incapable of such a deception.

Lincoln's argument sought first to break down the testimony of Allen by showing that he was not near enough to have seen what he professed to see, and that it was not light enough for him to have witnessed what he described so accurately. Lincoln's instructions to the jury which the judge accepted and which are preserved in his handwriting show plainly that he did not rely upon the moon incident, but endeavored to shift the blame upon Norris, who already had been convicted and was serving his sentence. Lincoln's strongest plea, however, was his narration of the kindness of Jack and Hannah Armstrong in the days when he was poor and friendless. Lincoln by this time was a great man. Every one knew that he had come to Beardstown to plead for this young man because of his own gratitude to Armstrong's father and mother. Lincoln knew that that kind of plea meant more to the jury than any display of almanac.

*J. Henry Shaw, Letter to Herndon, August 22, 1866.

Armstrong was acquitted, as every one in Beardstown was willing he should be; and that night Lincoln delivered a political speech, which was listened to with interest by judge, jurors and the parties to the trial. For Beardstown had known Lincoln since his flat-boating days, and he had now become famous, and was the predestined rival of Stephen A. Douglas, whom also Beardstown hoped soon to hear.

It should be said in conclusion that William Armstrong gave up drink and became a good citizen.* He and three of his brothers served in the Union Army. Armstrong became rather prominent as a member and an officer in the Disciples' Church. He maintained to the end of his life that he did not strike Metzker with anything harder than his fist. The jury appears to have had no doubt of the soundness of Lincoln's plea. Lincoln seldom had an easier legal victory.

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*William or Duff Armstrong himself told the story of the trial to J. McCann Davis in 1896. I have a signed statement prepared for me by Armstrong's brother John and a detailed statement by Honorable Thomas P. Reep, of Petersburg, a prominent attorney and a nephew by marriage of Jack Armstrong. I also have interviewed many people present at the trial or resident in the neighborhood at the time or in the years immediately succeeding. Duff Armstrong's life subsequent to the trial was respectable, and his good conduct did much to temper the judgment even of those who believed that Lincoln, as a reward for Hannah Armstrong's kindness to him when he was a poor boy, had cleared a guilty man. I am quoting the substance of his own statement in the Appendix.

CHAPTER XXII

HOME LIFE IN SPRINGFIELD
1842-1860

After their marriage Lincoln and his wife established themselves in the Globe Tavern, which was situated about two hundred yards southwest of the old state-house. Arnold, in his *Life of Lincoln,* testifies that it was a very comfortable hotel.

After the birth of Robert, August 1, 1843, the Lincolns were esteemed less desirable boarders than they had previously been. Robert cried and annoyed some of the other boarders, and Mrs. Lincoln found the situation inconvenient. In the autumn the family moved to a small house at 214 South Fourth Street, where the Argus Hotel now stands. There they lived in a small rented cottage until the purchase of their permanent home.

In 1844 Mr. Lincoln purchased from Reverend Charles Dresser* a house at that time a story and a half in height, and which Mrs. Lincoln, during one of Lincoln's absences on the circuit, raised to be two stories high. This was their home until he left Springfield to be inaugurated president of the United States.

The yard was bare. Lincoln was no gardener. One year only he cultivated a garden, then gave it up. He planted no shade or fruit trees, no vines or shrubbery, except a few roses, and these died of neglect. His wife's sister, Mrs. Wallace, tried to remove the nakedness of the house by planting a few flowers, but these were uncared for and perished.

*Reverend Charles Dresser was the Episcopal minister who married Abraham Lincoln to Mary Todd. The contract for the sale of the house, dated January 16, 1844, is in Lincoln's handwriting. The consideration was $1,200. The deed is dated May 2, 1844. The house, still standing, and the property of the state of Illinois, was then in the outskirts of Springfield.

Lincoln had a horse and cow. He curried and fed his own horse, and milked his own cow. He did the family marketing, carrying a basket on one arm and leading one of his boys with the other hand. The boy chatted, and sometimes Lincoln heard, and sometimes he was deep in his own thoughts.

Lincoln habitually dressed in black, wearing a frock coat and tall hat, neither of them any too well brushed. In winter he wore a gray shawl around his shoulders. This was not uncommon in his day.* He made the daily purchases at the market, walked home with his basket of meat and groceries, and then made his way to his office.

While Springfield's custom as to the dress of men as prominent as Lincoln called for the long coat and the tall hat, and that apparel was a mark of dignity and almost of gentility, it did not require that the owner of the coat should brush it before putting it on, much less that he should brush or blacken his boots. Lincoln was his own bootblack, and is known to have continued so to be while in the White House. "In England, Mr. Lincoln, no gentleman blacks his own boots," is said to have been the surprised remark of an Englishman of rank as he came upon Mr. Lincoln in the act of applying blacking to his own pedal covertures. "Whose boots does he black?" inquired Lincoln as he spat on his brush. It is to be hoped that when he got to the White House he used the brush more frequently than in Springfield. In summer, the long black coat, which was Lincoln's habitual dress, gave place to one of bombazine, not any too well fitted, and sometimes to a linen duster, that was not always immaculately clean. His straw hat is said to have cost twenty-five cents, and to have been just about worth the price.

Lincoln never formed the habit of shaving himself, but pat-

*My own father, physician and druggist in Illinois, wore a shawl as Lincoln did. He had an overcoat, a very heavy one, as I remember it, but this he rarely wore. In all but the most extremely cold weather, if he needed a wrap, he wore his gray shawl. There was a certain art in the wearing of those shawls, and they did not lack dignity. In the days of my travel in the Kentucky mountains, I sometimes carried a "saddle-shawl" of this character. When not in use, it was more conveniently carried than a coat.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN'S SPRINGFIELD HOME
Photographed for this work by Eugene J. Hall

ronized a barber. His son Robert declares that Abraham Lincoln never owned a razor.

Lincoln during nearly the whole of his residence in Springfield wore no beard; but not till he reached the White House did he shave daily. There a colored barber took him in hand, and cared for him every morning; in Springfield two or at most three shaves a week, with an extra one for an important social event, were all that custom required.

Lincoln spent most of his day at his office, and his evening with companions at the store or state-house. But his habits about the house are well defined. He was not quite at home in his own house. His favorite position was lying on the floor, with a chair tilted so as to give a slanting support to his back. There he would lie and read. The habit he had learned in the "blab school" never left him; and it was not easy for him to read or write silently. He read aloud; and when he wrote, he spoke the words as he slowly wrote them, weighing each one as he uttered and recorded it. Lying on the floor, coatless, and with hair awry, he sometimes answered a knock at the door, much to the displeasure of Mrs. Lincoln. She had a maid, and wanted her callers to know that the maid was properly aware of her duties. But Lincoln, if he was lying on the floor of the living-room, would rise, welcome the callers, and excuse himself while he went back to "trot out" Mrs. Lincoln.

Mrs. Lincoln had, indeed, a maid, many maids. She did not find it easy to keep help. She wrote to her Kentucky sisters, congratulating them that they, at least, could keep their help, while she had to wrestle with the "wild Irish." The wild Irish in Mrs. Lincoln's kitchen lost little of their wildness.

Lincoln and his wife were both of a generous nature, but their home was one of somewhat restricted hospitality. Mrs. Lincoln had the problem of limited resources, and in addition the long and frequent absences of her husband, and his lack of social graces. Lincoln was not wholly wrong when he wrote to Mary Owens that if she married him she would see other people enjoying wealth, and be unable to share it.

I have heard it said in Springfield, "Lincoln never felt free to invite a guest to his home; his poverty and Mrs. Lincoln's inability to keep help prevented any hospitality." But this is not true. I find in Senator Browning's *Diary* many such entries as these:

Springfield, Monday, [1852 January]
At night delivered a lecture in 3rd Presbyterian church for the benefit of the poor. After the lecture went to Mr. Lincoln's to supper.

Thursday July 22 [1852]
After tea Mrs B & self called at Mr. Ridgleys, Mr. Edwards, & spent the evening at Lincolns

Thursday Feby 5 [1857]
.....At night attended large & pleasant party at Lincolns.

Wednesday Feby 2, 1859.
.....At large party at Lincoln's at night.

Thursday June 9, [1859]
.....Went to a party at Lincolns at night.

The Lincolns did less entertaining than some of their more prosperous neighbors, but they did their share.

When there was company at the Lincoln home, Mrs. Lincoln had her trials. She was never sure that her husband would use the butter-knife, and not reach for butter with his own knife. He tried to please her, but if he got interested in telling stories, he sometimes forgot and reverted to his early habits. There was no separate knife for the butter in the home of Nancy Hanks, and probably none in the Rutledge tavern, nor was there always one in the "City Hotel" at the county-seat where Lincoln attended court.

Still, Lincoln acquired some measure of what may truly be called culture. One who knew him well said that whatever Mr. Lincoln lacked of social grace was made up by his kindness of heart; he was so inherently kind that he could not help being a gentleman.

I have witnessed with genuine satisfaction, and more than once, a play entitled *Abraham Lincoln* written by a talented Eng-

lishman, John Drinkwater. It is wrong in all its details and right in its essential message. It opens with a scene in Lincoln's home in Springfield just before the arrival of the committee sent down from the Chicago Convention to inform Lincoln of his nomination. That scene depicts a small group of Lincoln's neighbors, sitting in Mrs. Lincoln's parlor, smoking and talking about Lincoln. They refer to him as "Abraham." They use that name in speaking to Mrs. Lincoln, when she enters and finds them smoking before her open fire. But in Lincoln's parlor there was no open fire. The parlor had been modernized with a hot-air stove. Those men would never have thought of smoking in that parlor or any other; they might have chewed tobacco and spat into the open fire, if there had been one, but they would not have smoked. And they would not have called Mr. Lincoln "Abraham" to his wife. Nor would she have called him "Abraham" to them. She would have spoken of him as "Mr. Lincoln."

Springfield had its social laws and requirements. Mary Todd was a born aristocrat, and her marriage to a man socially her inferior did not demote her socially. Her husband was not of prominent family as she was, but he was an increasingly popular politician, and from the beginning he stood well in the capital city of Illinois. The social set in which they both moved prior to their marriage was the best in Springfield, and that is saying much; and during their married life they maintained their position.

Springfield was a town with a fashionable life of its own; and Lincoln and his wife were not outside the fashionable group. Lincoln's little eccentricities did not make him unwelcome in even the best homes in Springfield; indeed, he had a kind of adaptation which made him feel at home even when he did not know all the details of what might be required of him socially.

The Lincoln's had visiting cards. Those of Mrs. Lincoln were neat and of the proper size and style; Lincoln's were written, and neatly written; and that, also, was good form. He did

not make many social calls with her, but she left his card with her own, and it was a proper card.

While Mr. Lincoln in his personal appearance and attire was not all that a vain and society-loving woman might have desired, he and Mrs. Lincoln had their full share in the best social life of Springfield, and she had far more frequent occasion to be pleased with him than to be ashamed of him. Indeed, she was inordinately proud of him; nor did she ever see any other man whose social graces made sufficient compensation for Lincoln's more important qualifications to cause her to regret having married him. And Lincoln was proud of his plump little wife, and was happy when his increasing prosperity enabled her to dress as became her station. Not that she ever had dressed shabbily; Mary Todd always made a good appearance in society; but there came a time when Lincoln could afford to provide her money to buy for herself some things which he could not have afforded when they were first married.

They had as much social life as she cared for, and perhaps rather more than Lincoln cared for, and it was of the best.

Springfield was not without intellectual stimulus in those days. It was the period of the Lyceum lecture; and this gave Springfield and the Lincolns contact with the larger interests of the time.

Ralph Waldo Emerson used to lecture in Springfield on his western trips; and distinguished men from different parts of the nation came thither and talked on a multitude of topics, educational, philanthropic and entertaining.

The time of Lincoln's return from Washington was a time of importance in his family life and in the life of the country. He came back to Springfield with his debts paid. From that time on, the family had a little more freedom in matters financial.

It was the time of discovery of gold in California; and that event was giving to America a new frontier on the Pacific coast, and compelling vast changes looking toward its future development.

It was a time of significance in the world. It was the time when Cavour and Victor Immanuel were coming to the front, as well as Louis Napoleon and Bismarck. In England it was a time of labor agitation, of Chartism, of effort to lift the intolerable burdens of child labor and the dehumanization of woman under the weight of grinding toil. It was the period of Christian Socialism, with Kingsley and Maurice and Ruskin and Carlyle writing and preaching their reforms.

In America it was the dawn of the golden age in literature, with Emerson and Lowell and Longfellow and Bryant and Whittier and Poe and Hawthorne and Irving and Prescott and Motley and Bancroft and Parkman dipping their pens deep into the warm life of the time; while Britain had its Wordsworth and Coleridge, its Tennyson, Macaulay, Thackeray, Dickens, George Eliot, Bulwer and the Brownings.

It was a time when men were interested in making the world better. There was real hope of universal peace. There was new vigor in the temperance movement. There was new interest in the welfare of prisoners and the insane. Boards of education and of health were organized. It was an age of steam, just coming to its own; an age of invention and discovery. Springfield was not too remote from the course of the world's progress to feel the effect of all of these developments.

It was a period of new life for women. Beside the rugged pioneer had journeyed a "gaunt and sad-faced woman, sitting on the front seat of the wagon, following her lord where he might lead, her face hidden in the same ragged sunbonnet which had crossed the Appalachians." That woman had been succeeded by another, to whom life was not so strenuous; she had a home with several rooms, one of them, shut up most of the time except for funerals, a parlor with a store carpet and horse-hair furniture. She had a silk dress, and a bonnet very unlike the old sunbonnet; and in time she discarded half of her white petticoats and wore hoop-skirts.

About 1851, there came a period of dress reform. Women

were no longer to submit to the restrictions of their prescribed dress. Mrs. Amelia Bloomer taught them the new freedom. The period of sex-emancipation had come, and women were no longer to be "street-sweepers." Not only in Springfield and Chicago, but in Bloomington and Aurora and as far south as Cairo there was evidence of the new day for woman.

What matter that we know now that the wave of reform receded, and that hoop-skirts and bustles and trails and all the other follies came back, as they will come back again? Those days of which we are writing were great days for women as well as for men; and Springfield felt its share in the movements of the time.

But Springfield was conservative. It had to set a standard for less favored communities. It was not a city set on a hill, but it could not be hid; and to it the tribes went up, to court, to the Legislature, and to great political conventions, which were then becoming popular; though conservative men like Lincoln did not like them.

Children came to Abraham and Mary Lincoln with becoming regularity. They had no daughters, but four sons. Robert Todd Lincoln was born August 1, 1843, and is living as this book is written; Edward Baker Lincoln was born March 10, 1846, and died in Springfield February 1, 1850; William Wallace Lincoln was born December 21, 1850, and died in the White House, February 20, 1862; and Thomas, or "Tad" Lincoln was born April 4, 1853, and died in Chicago, July 15, 1871. The care of these children restricted Mrs. Lincoln's social activities. She was not a model mother; she was too nervous, too impetuous; her chidings and her caresses depended too much upon her own moods. In time of sickness, she was too anxious and too excitable to be a good nurse. But she loved her children passionately.

She was a good housekeeper, but she did not get on well with her help. Her own correspondence tells this, and gives her long list of reasons why her "hired girls" were unsatisfactory;

the neighbors gave some reasons why Mrs. Lincoln was not always satisfactory to the hired girls.*

As for Lincoln, he was not easily disturbed by the hired girl or by the misdemeanors of the children or by the changing moods of his wife. Little annoyances did not greatly irritate him, and he bore the larger ones, for the most part, philosophically.

In their early years of married life, Mrs. Lincoln was a member of the Episcopal Church, and when she attended, attended there. Lincoln rarely went with her. A sermon interested him, but not a liturgy.

But an important change in the family's habit came in 1850. Little Edward died, and Mr. Dresser was out of town. The family called in Reverend James Smith, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, who conducted the funeral service. He became a warm friend of the Lincoln family. Mrs. Lincoln joined the Presbyterian Church, and Lincoln took a pew, and paid his pew-rent regularly till his departure for Washington. He became a somewhat regular attendant, and his views of Christian truth were definitely modified by his contact with Doctor Smith.† Doctor Smith declared that Lincoln's views of doctrine were changed by the reading of Doctor Smith's book, *The Christian's Defense,* and by conferences with Doctor Smith, and Lincoln did not deny that this was the case. Lincoln never united with any church, but his attitude toward Christian doctrine underwent a marked change under the instruction of James Smith.

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*Mrs. Harriet Chapman, daughter of Dennis Hanks, who spent some months in the Lincoln home, told partly in words and partly in discreet silence the story of her trials. See Weik, *The Real Lincoln,* p. 55.

†This subject is fully treated in my book, *The Soul of Abraham Lincoln.*

CHAPTER XXIII

LINCOLN AND SLAVERY
1848-1854

ABRAHAM LINCOLN kept rather well out of politics from 1849 to 1854. In 1852 he made a few political speeches in favor of General Scott who was running for president on the Whig ticket. Lincoln was one of the Whig nominees for presidential elector, but he had no great enthusiasm for the cause, and no clear conviction that his work was of any value. In the sketch which he furnished to Scripps he said of himself:

> In 1852 he was upon the Scott electoral ticket, and did something in the way of canvassing, but owing to the hopelessness of the cause in Illinois, he did less than in previous presidential campaigns.

While Lincoln was keeping out of politics, slavery was getting deeper into politics.

John C. Calhoun died in 1850. Henry Clay and Daniel Webster both died in 1852. Thus simultaneously passed from the stage the men of the great triumvirate who so long had held the political leadership of the country. The foremost men in the Democratic Party now were Stephen A. Douglas, of Illinois, and Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi. Among the Whigs, Alexander H. Stephens, of Georgia, still held the South, but there was lack of a great national leader as well as of a clear conviction of issue. Daniel Webster had died in 1852, but his political death occurred when he delivered his seventh of March speech in 1850, defending the Compromise, a part of which was the

Fugitive Slave Law. California, one of the first fruits of the Mexican War, had entered the Union as a free state September 9, 1850. The slavery issue was destined to be the rock on which the nation was to split.

The Mexican War was waged by a Democratic president, but both its leading generals, Scott and Taylor, were Whigs. The Whig Party had won the election of 1848 by nominating one of the heroes of the Mexican War, Zachary Taylor, who was popularly known as "Old Rough and Ready." He acknowledged himself to be a Whig, "but not an ultra-Whig." President Taylor died in office, July 9, 1850.* The Whig Party thought it had learned how to win an election, and put up as his successor, in 1852, the other famous Mexican War hero, General Winfield Scott, whom the soldiers called "Old Fuss and Feathers." The Free-soil Party was again in the field, this time with John P. Hale, of New Hampshire, as its candidate. The Free-soilers polled an ominously smaller vote than they had registered four years previously. The Whigs carried only four states, two northern and two southern, Massachusetts, Vermont, Tennessee and Kentucky. The Democrats carried the country overwhelmingly in the election of Franklin Pierce. It seemed as though the slavery issue had been side-tracked, if not permanently removed from American politics.

In that year, 1850, Harriet Beecher Stowe published *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Within twelve months from the day of its publication, three hundred thousand copies had been sold.

What did Abraham Lincoln think about the various efforts to create a new party based on the slavery issue? The answer is that Lincoln did not sympathize with any of these attempts. He was a very conservative Whig. In 1844, he opposed the Liberty

*Both Whig presidents, Harrison and Taylor, died soon after their inauguration. It was freely charged that both were murdered in order to throw the government into the hands of the vice-presidents alleged to have been in secret sympathy with the opposition. See, for instance, *History of the Plots and Crimes of the Great Conspiracy to Overthrow Liberty in America*, by John Smith Dye—New York, 1866.

Party, which was organized in that year with James G. Birney as its candidate. He charged that party with responsibility for the defeat of Henry Clay. In 1848, he opposed the Free-soilers in New England and elsewhere, and again was strongly opposed to them in Illinois in 1852. His letter to Williamson and Madison Durley, of Hennepin, Illinois, written October 3, 1845, sets forth his view upon the slavery question as it belonged to politics at this time:

When I saw you at home it was agreed that I should write to you and your brother Madison. Until I then saw you I was not aware of your being what is generally called an abolitionist, or, as you call yourself, a Liberty man, though I well knew there were many such in your county.

I was glad to hear that you intended to attempt to bring about, at the next election in Putnam, a union of the Whigs proper and such of the Liberty men as are Whigs in principle on all questions save only that of slavery. So far as I can perceive, by such union neither party need yield anything on *the* point in difference between them. If the Whig abolitionists of New York had voted with us last fall, Mr. Clay would now be president, Whig principles in the ascendant, and Texas not annexed; whereas, by the division, all that either had at stake in the contest was lost. And, indeed, it was extremely probable, beforehand, that such would be the result. As I always understood, the Liberty men deprecated the annexation of Texas extremely; and this being so, why they should refuse to cast their votes [so] as to prevent it, even to me seemed wonderful. What was their process of reasoning, I can only judge from what a single one of them told me. It was this: "We are not to do *evil* that *good* may come." This general proposition is doubtless correct; but did it apply? If by your votes you could have prevented the *extension,* etc., of slavery, would it not have been *good,* and not *evil,* so to have used your votes, even though it involved the casting of them for a slave-holder? By the *fruit* the tree is to be known. An *evil* tree can not bring forth *good* fruit. If the fruit of electing Mr. Clay would have been to prevent the extension of slavery, could the act of electing have been evil?

But I will not argue further. I perhaps ought to say that individually I was never much interested in the Texas question. I

never could see much good to come of annexation, inasmuch as they were already a free republican people on our own model. On the other hand, I never could very clearly see how the annexation would augment the evil of slavery. It always seemed to me that slaves would be taken there in about equal numbers, with or without annexation. And if more *were* taken because of annexation still there would be just so many the fewer left where they were taken from. It is possibly true, to some extent, that, with annexation, some slaves may be sent to Texas and continued in slavery that otherwise might have been liberated. To whatever extent this may be true, I think annexation an evil. I hold it to be a paramount duty of us in the free States, due to the Union of the States, and perhaps to liberty itself (paradox though it may seem), to let the slavery of the other States alone; while, on the other hand, I hold it to be equally clear that we should never knowingly lend ourselves, directly or indirectly, to prevent that slavery from dying a natural death—to find new places for it to live in, when it can no longer exist in the old. Of course I am not now considering what would be our duty in cases of insurrection among the slaves. To recur to the Texas question, I understand the Liberty men to have viewed annexation as a much greater evil than ever I did; and I would like to convince you, if I could, that they could have prevented it, without violation of principle, if they had chosen.

I intend this letter for you and Madison together; and if you and he or either shall think fit to drop me a line, I shall be pleased.

Yours with respect,

A. Lincoln.

When Lincoln delivered his State Fair speech in reply to Douglas, in October, 1854, he had a narrow escape from being committed in advance to the policy of abolition. Among those who heard him was Owen Lovejoy, who felt that a new champion had risen for the abolition cause. As soon as Lincoln had finished his speech in the House of Representatives, Lovejoy moved forward, and announced that there would be a meeting of all the friends of freedom, in that place in the evening. Herndon, who was a radical abolitionist, has told the story of Lincoln's action following that announcement:

Among those who mingled in the crowd and listened to them was Owen Lovejoy, a radical, fiery, brave, fanatical man, it may be, but one full of the virus of Abolitionism. I had been thoroughly inoculated with the latter myself, and so had many others, who helped to swell the throng. The Nebraska movement had kindled anew the old zeal, and inspired us with renewed confidence to begin the crusade. As many of us as could assembled together to organize for the campaign before us. As soon, therefore, as Lincoln finished his speech in the hall of the House of Representatives, Lovejoy, moving forward from the crowd, announced a meeting in the same place that evening of all the friends of freedom. That, of course, meant the Abolitionists with whom I had been in conference all the day. Their plan had been to induce Mr. Lincoln to speak for them at their meeting. Strong as I was in the faith, yet I doubted the propriety of Lincoln's taking any stand yet. As I viewed it, he was ambitious to climb to the United States Senate, and on grounds of policy it would not do for him to occupy at that time such advanced ground as we were taking. On the other hand, it was equally as dangerous to refuse a speech for the Abolitionists. I did not know how he felt on the subject, but on learning that Lovejoy intended to approach him with an invitation, I hunted up Lincoln and urged him to avoid meeting the enthusiastic champion of Abolitionism. "Go home at once," I said. "Take Bob with you and drive somewhere into the country and stay until this thing is over." Whether my admonition and reasoning moved him or not I do not know, but it only remains to state that under the pretense of having business in Tazewell County he drove out of town in his buggy, and did not return until the apostles of Abolitionism had separated and gone to their homes. I have always believed that this little arrangement —it would dignify it too much to call it a plan—saved Lincoln. If he had endorsed the resolutions passed at that meeting, or spoken simply in favor of freedom that night, he would have been identified with all the rancor and extremes of Abolitionism. If, on the contrary, he had been invited to join them, and then had refused to take a position as advanced as theirs, he would have lost their support.*

There was real danger to Lincoln's career of his being identi-

*Herndon's *Lincoln*, ii, pp. 40-41.

fied, at this state of his experience, with the extreme positions of abolitionism. Four years later, in the first debate between Lincoln and Douglas, the latter accused Lincoln of having participated in that abolition meeting, and quoted against him the resolutions alleged to have been adopted that night. Lincoln was glad to be able to reply that not only were the resolutions which had been furnished to Douglas as those of that meeting not the ones which the meeting actually adopted, but that Lincoln himself was not present at the meeting. Due to Herndon's advice or his own caution, he had a convincing alibi; he was present at the meeting in Representatives' Hall in the morning, but in the afternoon he left Springfield on important business in another county-seat, and was not in town when the abolitionists held their meeting.

Even the murder of Lovejoy did not draw from Lincoln the swift and indignant condemnation which might have been expected. Lincoln was as much opposed to radical abolitionism as he was to slavery; and Lincoln did not sympathize with Lovejoy's persistent refusal to cease an agitation whose inevitable result he felt to be mob violence.

Lincoln refused to identify himself with the Free-soil movement as a national political party, but in 1855 he joined an association of that name which was organized in Illinois on behalf of freedom in Kansas. In those meetings the abolitionists took the more prominent part. Lincoln spoke at one of the meetings. He opposed radical demonstrations, declaring that forcible defiance of the laws of Kansas would be criminal, and would jeopardize the cause of freedom there. He did not sympathize with John Brown. He, however, joined the Kansas Free-soil movement and contributed to the fund.

Soon after the election of Trumbull to the Senate, Lincoln went with Herndon to the governor of Illinois to intercede on behalf of a free negro, who hired out as a laborer in some capacity on a Mississippi steamboat, and was seized in Louisiana and held in prison in New Orleans. The mother of this young

man lived in Springfield, and came to Lincoln and Herndon to prevent her son being sold into slavery to defray the expense of his arrest and imprisonment. The governor of Illinois examined the law and decided that he had no right to interfere. The governor of Indiana was appealed to with like result. Lincoln and Herndon came again to the Illinois governor, Garner, and as he still found no legal way of interfering, Lincoln drew up a subscription list which Herndon circulated, and procured money enough with which to procure the young man's liberty. They sent the money to a friend in New Orleans, and in due time the young man was restored to his overjoyed mother. This incident is significant chiefly as showing the resolution to which Lincoln was coming with regard to slavery. At the close of his second interview with the governor he rose from his chair, hat in hand, and exclaimed with emphasis:

"Garner, I'll make the ground in this country too hot for the foot of a slave!"

About this time Lincoln wrote to his friend Speed in Kentucky under date of August 24, 1855, as follows:

I confess I hate to see the poor creatures hunted down and caught and carried back to their unrequited toil; but I bite my lips and keep quiet. In 1841, you and I had a rather tedious low-water trip on the steamboat from Louisville to St. Louis.* You may remember, as well as I do, that from Louisville to the mouth of the Ohio, there were on board ten or a dozen slaves shackled together with irons. That sight was a continual torment to me; and I see something like it every time I touch the Ohio or any slave border. It is not fair for you to assume that I have no interest in a thing which has, and continually exerts, the power of making me miserable. You ought rather to appreciate how much the great body of the Northern people do crucify their feelings in order to maintain their loyalty to the Con-

*It is noteworthy that in Lincoln's letter to Miss Mary Speed, written shortly after the event, Lincoln refers to these same enchained negroes as happy and even joyous. But if the slaves did not suffer, Lincoln suffered; and the more he considered the matter the more it was "a continual torment" to him.

stitution and the Union. I do oppose the extension of slavery, because my judgment and feeling so prompt me; and I am under no obligations to the contrary. If for this you and I must differ, differ we must.

Abraham Lincoln had never remembered the time when he did not believe slavery to be wrong. From the time that he saw slaves chained and sold in the New Orleans market, he had felt some measure of moral accountability for a system which prevailed in his country and which his conscience condemned. His protest and that of Dan Stone in the Illinois Legislature on March 3, 1837, professed the belief of the signers "that the institution of slavery is founded both on injustice and bad policy." While this protest also declared that the dissemination of abolition doctrines increased rather than decreased the evil, it was nevertheless an outspoken declaration against an otherwise pro-slavery utterance of the Legislature.

Lincoln's opposition to slavery did not prevent his accepting a fee from a slave-holder, any more than his opposition to murder kept him from accepting a fee from a murderer. In the Matson Slave Trial in Charleston, in 1847, Lincoln represented a slave-holder in an effort to send a mother and her children back into slavery. All was grist that came to the mill of the practising lawyer in those days, and Lincoln seldom declined a case. It is quite certain that William H. Seward or Salmon P. Chase would have declined this one, and it is good to know that Lincoln lost it.

One of Lincoln's important cases was one that caused him to study those aspects of slavery which were legal and constitutional. In Tazewell County, Illinois, lived one Nathan Cromwell, who had in his service a negro girl named Nance. Cromwell sold the girl to a neighbor named Bailey, the purchase being conditional upon the delivery of papers proving that Cromwell had legal right to sell the woman under the laws of the state. These papers Cromwell failed to produce, and before the money was paid, Cromwell died. His heirs sued Bailey for the purchase price of the negress. Bailey employed Lincoln as his attor-

ney. On the first trial, in September, 1839, the case was decided against Bailey. Lincoln appealed, and the case was tried before the Supreme Court of the State of Illinois. It was one of Lincoln's first appearances before the Supreme Court, and he made more than his usual preparation for the trial. Under the Ordinance of 1787, slavery was prohibited in Illinois; but public sentiment in southern and central Illinois was essentially that of Kentucky and Missouri. Slavery in those states existed in its mildest form, and did not greatly outrage the conscience of good people. Though prohibited by law in Illinois, it was permitted by public sentiment, and continued under the form of indenture. Lincoln came to the clear conviction that this was both illegal and unrighteous. Later, in his Peoria speech, he traced the attitude of the government toward slavery in the Declaration of Independence, and in the Ordinance of 1787. He said:

Thus with the author of the Declaration of Independence, the policy of prohibiting slavery in the new territory originated. Thus, away back of the Constitution, in the pure, fresh, free breath of the Revolution, the State of Virginia and the National Congress put that policy into practice. Thus, through sixty odd of the best years of the republic did that policy steadily work to its great and beneficent end. And thus in those five states, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin, with its five millions of free, enterprising people, we have before us the rich fruits of this policy. . . .

Slavery is founded in the selfishness of man's nature, opposition to it in his love of justice. These principles are in eternal antagonism; and when wrought into collision so fiercely as slavery extension brings them, shocks and throes and convulsions must ceaselessly follow. Repeal the Missouri Compromise—repeal all compromise—repeal the Declaration of Independence—repeal all past history, you still cannot repeal human nature. It still will be out of the abundance of man's heart that he will declare slavery is wrong; and out of the abundance of his mouth he will continue to speak.

There was a time when Abraham Lincoln would not have felt warranted in making affirmations so uncompromising as these.

There was a time when, holding as he did to the inherent immorality of slavery, he also believed in the compromises of Henry Clay, and in the efforts of the Whig Party to deal with the slavery issue by palliative methods. But the time came when Lincoln was compelled to contemplate the career of Henry Clay with grave misgivings as to that statesman's adequate vision. Doctor Holland says that Lincoln made a visit to Henry Clay and was disillusioned. No other authority has been found for that visit,* but we know that Lincoln's ardor for Clay measurably cooled. On July 16, 1852, Lincoln delivered in Springfield a funeral oration on the great Kentuckian. He praised Clay for framing the Missouri Compromise by which, in 1820, Missouri was admitted to the Union as a slave state, with the provision that beyond the western boundary of Missouri there should be no slavery north of 36°30′. In this eulogy on Clay, Lincoln quoted from an address of Clay in 1827, in which slavery was spoken of as a detestable crime and as the product of fraud and violence. Then Mr. Lincoln said:

Pharaoh's country was cursed with plagues, and his hosts were lost in the Red Sea, for striving to retain a captive people who had already served them for more than four hundred years. May like disasters never befall us.

In 1808, one year before the birth of Lincoln, the slave trade ceased by constitutional limitation. If slavery itself could have gone out with the importation of slaves, the history of Lincoln and our nation had been quite otherwise. It was not so, and in 1820 came the Missouri Compromise. For thirty-four years that Compromise stood; but thirty-four years is a long time, and slavery had been gaining ground. The Louisiana Purchase had brought in material for a number of new slave states, and the Mexican War had brought in others. California had, indeed,

*The visit, however, is not inherently improbable. Mr. and Mrs. Lincoln visited her relatives in Lexington, and Lincoln would have been likely to call upon Clay.

entered the Union as a free state, but that was not the fault of the slave-holding element in Congress, or even of the then occupant of the White House.

The removal of the Capitol of the United States from New York and Philadelphia to a small district taken from and bounded by the two slave states of Maryland and Virginia did much to strengthen slavery socially and politically. In 1854, the Kansas-Nebraska Bill repealed the Missouri Compromise, started Kansas to bleeding, set John Brown's soul and body marching in the path that led to the gallows, and called Abraham Lincoln back into politics.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE REPEAL OF THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE
1854

THE year 1854 opened with no indication that it would recall Abraham Lincoln to political life. Franklin Pierce on March fourth preceding had begun his administration with a profound conviction that no serious and disturbing issue was likely to arise in his administration. His chief opponents, the Whigs, had carried only four states, and the Free-soil Party, which in 1848 had polled nearly 300,000 votes for Martin Van Buren, had been able in 1852 to muster only about half that number for John P. Hale. The new compromise of 1850, which included the Fugitive Slave Law, seemed likely to settle the most disturbing aspects of the slavery question. But the calm was that which preceded the storm. If, on the first day of January, 1854, Mrs. Lincoln's New Year's callers congratulated her upon the fact that her husband was making better progress in the law than he had ever made in politics, and if Lincoln shared her satisfaction, that feeling had but three days of grace before it was to encounter a rude shock.

On January 4, 1854, Senator Stephen A. Douglas reported from the Committee on Territories, of which committee he was chairman, a bill to organize the territory of Nebraska, embracing all the country west of the state of Missouri and north of 36° 30′ north latitude. The bill further provided that said territory or any portion of it, when admitted as a state or states, should be received into the Union with or without slavery, as the people of that territory, by the constitution of their own adoption, might prescribe at the time of their admission.

Three days later Douglas inserted a further provision that all questions pertaining to slavery in the territories and in the new states to be formed therefrom, should be left to be determined by the people residing therein.

Twelve days after the Nebraska Bill was first reported, Senator Dickson, of Kentucky, offered an amendment repealing the Missouri Compromise outright. Douglas at first objected to and then accepted this amendment. A few days later he brought in a new bill, dividing the new territory into two parts, Kansas and Nebraska. The clear object of this division was to give to the slave-holding people of Missouri opportunity to make a slave state of the southern portion, named Kansas. That they would succeed in this endeavor seemed practically certain.*

The principle enunciated in this scheme of Douglas was called by him "popular sovereignty." It was declared to be the principle of the right of the people to govern themselves. It was popularly known as "Squatter Sovereignty."

The Illinois Legislature was in session when Douglas introduced the Nebraska Bill. Lincoln wrote to Joshua Speed, saying that of the one hundred members of the two Houses, seventy were Democrats, and that they held a party caucus to consider the measure. It appeared that only three of the seventy were in favor of it. Lincoln said that a few days later orders came from Douglas that the Illinois Legislature should pass a resolution favoring the bill. Party discipline prevailed, and the resolution passed by a large majority.

The Kansas-Nebraska Bill passed both Houses of Congress and became a law on May 30, 1854. The repeal of the Missouri Compromise was the recall of Abraham Lincoln to political life.

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*I am following popular and, as I suppose, well understood phraseology in speaking of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. Only that part of the "compromise" was repealed which related to the extension of slavery. Douglas expressly proposed that his principle of "popular sovereignty" should apply to the territories as well as to the states. But the opponents of the extension of slavery held that the people of Maine, for instance, had a legitimate interest in the question whether Arkansas, or any other territory, was used for the extension and perpetuation of the system of slavery.

The repeal of the Missouri Compromise grew primarily out of factional strife in Missouri between Thomas Hart Benton and David R. Atchison. Atchison was the real author of the measure; but the leader of the movement in the Senate was Stephen A. Douglas.* Much that has been written about the part which Douglas took, and of his motive in the matter, is not sustained by adequate evidence, and some things which Douglas claimed, as, for instance, that for eight years prior to the repeal he had steadily advocated it, appear to be unreliable. But conceding, as we may well concede, the authorship of the repeal to David R. Atchison, and perhaps also in part to Judge William C. Price, it is Douglas with whom we have to reckon as the man responsible for the form of the presentation to Congress of the plan for the admission of Kansas, for its report from the committee, and for its adoption by Congress and discussion by the country.

Whatever Douglas' motive at the outset, or even if he had then no motive except that of averting the possibility of being removed from the chairmanship of the Committee on Territories to make way for Atchison who introduced the bill, he must ultimately have seen that he was certain to be held responsible for it; and it seemed well for him, if he expected to be a candidate for the presidency, to use to his advantage in the southern states what was certain to be used to his disadvantage in the states where a strong anti-slavery sentiment existed.

Senator Douglas did not return to Illinois after the passage of his bill until September 1, 1854. On that date he spoke in Chicago, and attempted to defend his course in the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. He met a very cold reception and much pronounced opposition.

He spoke again in Springfield in the Representatives' Hall of the state-house on October 3, 1854. As soon as the announcement of Douglas' speech was made, Lincoln determined to reply to him on the following day and from the same platform.

*P. Orman Ray, *The Repeal of the Missouri Compromise.*

Horace White, who was then a young reporter, thus described the address with which Lincoln reentered the political arena:

I heard the whole of that speech. It was a warmish day in early October, and Mr. Lincoln was in his shirt-sleeves when he stepped on the platform. I observed that, although awkward, he was not in the least embarrassed. He began in a slow, hesitating manner, but without any mistake of language, dates or facts. It was evident that he had mastered his subject, that he knew what he was going to say, and that he knew that he was right. He had a thin, high-pitched falsetto voice, of much varying power, that could be heard at a long distance in spite of the bustling tumult of the crowd. He had the accent and pronunciation peculiar to his native state, Kentucky. Gradually he warmed up to his subject, his angularity disappeared and he passed into that attitude of unconscious majesty that is so conspicuous in St. Gaudens' Statue at the entrance of Lincoln Park in Chicago. I have often wondered how this artist, who never saw the subject of his work, could have divined his presence and dignity as a public speaker so perfectly.

Progressing with his theme, his words began to come faster, and his face to light up with the rays of genius, and his body to move in unison with his thoughts. His gestures were made with his body and his head rather than with his arms. They were the natural expression of the man, and so perfectly adapted to what he was saying that anything different from it would have been quite inconceivable. Sometimes his manner was very impassioned, and he seemed transfigured with his subject. Perspiration would stream from his face, and each particular hair would stand on end. Then the inspiration that possessed him took possession of his hearers also. His speaking went to the heart because it came from the heart. I have heard celebrated orators who could start thunders of applause without changing any man's opinion. Mr. Lincoln's eloquence was of the higher type, which produced conviction in others because of the conviction of the speaker himself. His listeners felt that he believed every word he said, and that, like Martin Luther, he would go to the stake rather than abate one jot or tittle of it. In such transfigured moments as these he was the type of the ancient Hebrew prophet as I learned that character at Sunday School in my childhood.

Lincoln would willingly have debated with Douglas in 1854. Honorable Lawrence Weldon wrote of his first meeting with Lincoln:

The first time I met him was in September, 1854, at Bloomington; and I was introduced to him by Judge Douglas, who was then making a campaign in defense of the Kansas-Nebraska bill. Mr. Lincoln was attending court, and called to see the Judge. They talked very pleasantly about old times and things, and during the conversation the Judge broadened the hospitalities of the occasion by asking him to drink something. Mr. Lincoln declined very politely, when the Judge said: "Why, do you belong to the temperance society?" He said:

"I do *not* in theory, but I do in fact, belong to the temperance society, in this, to wit, that I do not drink anything, and have not done so for very many years."

Shortly after he retired, Mr. J. W. Fell, then and now a leading citizen of Illinois, came into the room, with a proposition that Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Douglas have a discussion, remarking that there were a great many people in the city, that the question was of great public importance, and that it would afford the crowd the luxury of listening to the acknowledged champions of both sides. As soon as the proposition was made it could be seen that the Judge was irritated. He inquired of Mr. Fell, with some majesty of manner: "Whom does Mr. Lincoln represent in this campaign—is he an Abolitionist or an Old Line Whig?"

Mr. Fell replied that he was an Old Line Whig.

"Yes," said Douglas, "I am now in the region of the Old Line Whig. When I am in Northern Illinois I am assailed by an Abolitionist, when I get to the center I am attacked by an Old Line Whig, and when I go to Southern Illinois I am beset by an Anti-Nebraska Democrat. I can't hold the Whig responsible for anything the Abolitionist says, and can't hold the Anti-Nebraska Democrat responsible for the positions of either. It looks to me like dogging a man all over the State. If Mr. Lincoln wants to make a speech he had better get a crowd of his own; for I most respectfully decline to hold a discussion with him."

Mr. Lincoln had nothing to do with the challenge except perhaps to say he would discuss the question with Judge Douglas. He was not aggressive in the defense of his doctrines or enunciation of his opinions, but he was brave and fearless in the pro-

tection of what he believed to be the right. The impression he made when I was introduced was as to his unaffected and sincere manner, and the precise, cautious, and accurate mode in which he stated his thoughts even when talking about commonplace things.*

Abraham Lincoln reentered politics in 1854 in response to a mighty impulse of his own conscience. It was impossible to resist the conviction that that which brought him from his place of growing leadership at the bar, with its increasing emoluments and widening distinction, into the uncertainties of the political arena, was a profound conviction of duty. It is not, however, to be understood that Lincoln was completely disinterested. He saw in the changed situation an opportunity which he thought might make him United States senator.† In the latter part of 1854, he began writing to his friends, both Whigs and Democrats, whom he believed to be offended by the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, asking for their influence and support in electing him United States senator. He marked these letters "Confidential." He received sufficient encouragement to make him believe that he was likely to be chosen.

At this time Lincoln had no thought of running against Douglas. The senatorial term which was then expiring was that of General James Shields, Lincoln's old opponent and a man with whom Lincoln had once almost fought a duel. Shields was a Democrat. Lincoln had the impression that Lyman Trumbull would be a Democratic candidate against Shields. Trumbull was

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**Reminiscences of Abraham Lincoln by Distinguished Men of His Time,* pp. 198-199.

†So little was Lincoln thinking of becoming a candidate for the United States Senate until this crisis arose, that he had consented against the excellent advice of his wife to accept a nomination and election as a member of the Illinois House of Representatives. Lincoln was well past the stage in his career when such election could be counted a high honor; still as his home was in Springfield, it was an honor which he thought he could afford to accept, as it then seemed to him, without any very serious disadvantage; and he permitted himself to be elected. Very soon he discovered his mistake. There was more than a possibility that he could defeat Shields and become a United States senator. He quickly resigned his seat in the Illinois Legislature and essayed to secure election to the Senate of the United States.

a Democrat, but an Anti-Nebraska man. The repeal of the Missouri Compromise had cut across the old party lines. Among the state senators in Illinois were three Democrats who were opposed to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. These were Norman B. Judd, of Chicago, Burton C. Cook, of Ottawa, and John M. Palmer, of Carlinville. All these had refused to follow Douglas. Both the old parties were threatened with disintegration. The Democrats stood more solidly than the Whigs, but neither party could carry its full strength in support of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill. If the opponents of Douglas could have coalesced at once they could have elected any man upon whom they agreed; but there still was a line between the Whigs and the Anti-Douglas Democrats. The Whig Party cherished the fatuous hope that it was to profit by the split in the Democratic Party. The sequel proved that the rift in the Whig Party was deeper than that in the Democratic Party. The Democrats could not elect Shields, but it did not follow that the man who succeeded him would be a Whig.

The two Houses of the Illinois General Assembly met in the hall of the House of Representatives on February 8, 1855, to choose a senator. The floor and the lobby were crowded by members and their political friends. The gallery was filled with women, including Mrs. Lincoln and other distinguished ladies of Springfield and other parts of Illinois. Lincoln had already been named as candidate for senator by a caucus of forty-five members, including all the Whigs but one, and most of the Free-soilers.

General James Shields was nominated by State Senator Graham; Abraham Lincoln was nominated by Representative Stephen T. Logan. Lyman Trumbull was nominated by Senator John M. Palmer.

On the first roll-call, Lincoln had forty-five votes, Shields forty-one, Trumbull five, and there were eight scattering votes, a total of ninety-nine. On the second and third ballots, Lincoln had forty-three, and Trumbull six. On the fourth, Lincoln had

thirty-eight and Trumbull had eleven. On the sixth, Lincoln had thirty-six, and Trumbull eight. The seventh ballot startled the Assembly. The Democratic vote was transferred bodily from Shields to Governor Joel A. Matteson. On that vote, Matteson had forty-four, Lincoln thirty-eight and Trumbull nine votes. On the eighth ballot Matteson gained two votes, and Trumbull rose from nine to eighteen, while Lincoln fell to twenty-seven. On the ninth ballot Lincoln dropped to fifteen, and Trumbull rose to thirty-five, while Matteson had forty-seven, lacking only three of a majority.

Intense excitement followed, for it was confidently expected that the tenth ballot would see an election. As both Matteson and Trumbull were Democrats, and Matteson had almost a majority, with Lincoln running as a very lonely third, it seemed that in the next ballot Matteson would be elected.

Then Lincoln did a brave thing. He had reason to believe that some of his own supporters had betrayed him, and gone over to Matteson. As between Matteson and Trumbull, he strongly preferred Trumbull. He conferred with Judge Logan, and asked that his own votes be transferred to Trumbull. This request was a grief to Logan, but he saw the wisdom of it. On the last ballot fifteen of Lincoln's votes went to Trumbull, who was elected by a vote of fifty-one to Matteson's forty-seven.*

This result amazed the Democrats. They regarded Trumbull as a traitor to their cause. That party in the State Legislature had endorsed the position of Douglas. Trumbull had opposed it, and still opposed it. Palmer, Judd and Cook were also regarded as traitors. Their three votes and two Democratic votes from the House of Representatives were all that prevented Shields from having a plurality over Lincoln on the first ballot. Many of the Democrats would rather have seen Lincoln elected than Trumbull. Trumbull went to the United States Senate, where he at once took his position as an Anti-Nebraska Democrat.

*On this final ballot, one member cast a wild vote and another did not vote at all.

Mrs. Ninian W. Edwards had planned a great reception in honor of Senator-elect Abraham Lincoln and his lady. When Trumbull was elected she changed the form of the invitation and made it a reception in honor of Senator-elect Lyman Trumbull and lady. Mr. and Mrs. Lincoln stood in the receiving line, and the funereal baked meats of Lincoln's political ambition did freshly furnish forth the festive refreshments for Trumbull.

On the following day Lincoln wrote Elihu B. Washburne, telling the whole story of the election and his defeat. He said:

I regret my defeat moderately, but am not nervous about it. I could have headed off every combination, and been elected had it not been for Matteson's double game—and his defeat gives me more pleasure than my own gives me pain. On the whole it is perhaps well for our general cause that Trumbull is elected.

Lincoln accepted the election of Trumbull so cheerfully as to give some color to the charge that he and Trumbull had entered into a corrupt bargain with respect to the senatorship. Douglas in his first speech against Lincoln in the joint debate at Ottawa on August 21, 1858, said:

In 1854, Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Trumbull entered into an arrangement, one with the other, and each with his respective friends, to dissolve the old Whig Party on the one hand, and to dissolve the old Democratic Party on the other, and to connect the members of both into an Abolition party, under the name and disguise of a Republican Party. The terms of that arrangement between Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Trumbull have been published to the world by Mr. Lincoln's special friend, James H. Matheny, Esq., and they were, that Lincoln should have Shields' place in the United States Senate, which was then about to become vacant, and that Trumbull should have my seat when my term expired. Lincoln went to work to abolitionize the old Whig Party all over the state, pretending that he was then as good Whig as ever; and Trumbull went to work in his part of the state preaching abolitionism in its milder and lighter form, and trying to abolitionize the Democratic Party, and bring old Democrats handcuffed and bound hand and foot into the abolition camp. In

pursuance of the arrangement, the parties met at Springfield in October, 1854, and proclaimed their new platform. Lincoln was to bring into the abolition camp the old-line Whigs, and transfer them over to Giddings, Chase, Fred Douglass, and Parson Lovejoy, who were ready to receive them and christen them in their new faith. . . .

These two men having formed this combination to abolitionize the old Whig Party and the old Democratic Party, and put themselves into the Senate of the United States, in pursuance of their bargain, are now carrying out that arrangement. Matheny states that Trumbull broke faith; that the bargain was that Lincoln should be the Senator in Shields' place, and Trumbull was to wait for mine; and the story goes, that Trumbull cheated Lincoln, having control of four or five abolitionized Democrats who were holding over in the Senate; he would not let them vote for Lincoln, which obliged the rest of the Abolitionists to support him in order to secure an abolition senator. There are a number of authorities for the truth of this besides Matheny, and I suppose that even Mr. Lincoln will not deny it.

Mr. Lincoln demands that he shall have the place intended for Trumbull, as Trumbull cheated him and got his, and Trumbull is stumping the State traducing me for the purpose of securing the position for Lincoln, in order to quiet him. It was in consequence of this arrangement that the Republican Convention was empanelled to instruct for Lincoln and nobody else, and it was on this account that they passed resolutions that he was their first, their last, and their only choice.

Douglas probably believed this to be true, but he was mistaken. No such corrupt bargain existed between Lincoln and Trumbull, and Lincoln never believed that Trumbull was untrue to him. He did believe, however, that some of his own professed followers failed him, and the Matteson movement appears to have been the result of a coalition not wholly honorable. Neither Lincoln nor Trumbull, however, had any share in this. That coalition represented opposition to both Trumbull and Lincoln. Looking back from this distance, we may well be grateful that Abraham Lincoln was not elected senator to succeed James Shields. If he had been comfortably seated in the United States

Senate, in 1855, and Lyman Trumbull had been the opponent of Stephen A. Douglas in 1858, some important chapters in the history of the United States would have had to be rewritten.

A series of Lincoln and Douglas debates was threatened in 1854, but was called off by a truce between Lincoln and Douglas. The account of this truce is given by Herndon and is not wholly satisfactory:

By request of party friends, Lincoln was induced to follow after Douglas, and, at the various places where the latter had appointments, to speak in reply to him. On the 16th of October they met at Peoria, where Douglas enjoyed the advantages of an "open and close." Lincoln made an effective speech, which he wrote out and furnished to the Sangamon *Journal* for publication, and which can be found among his public utterances. His party friends, in Springfield and elsewhere, who had urged him to push after Douglas until he cried "enough," were surprised a few days after the Peoria debate to find him at home, with the information that by agreement with the latter they were both to return home and speak no more during the campaign. Judge of his astonishment a few days later to find that his rival, instead of going direct to his home in Chicago, had stopped at Princeton and violated his express agreement by making a speech there! Lincoln was much displeased at this action of Douglas, which tended to convince him that the latter was really a man devoid of fixed political morals. I remember his explanation in our office made to me, William Butler, William Jayne, Ben F. Irwin, and other friends, to account for his early withdrawal from the stump. After the Peoria debate Douglas approached him and flattered him by saying that he was giving him more trouble on the territorial and slavery questions than all the United States Senate, and he therefore proposed to him that both should abandon the field and return to their homes. Now Lincoln could never refuse a polite request—one in which no principle was involved. I have heard him say, "It's a fortunate thing I wasn't born a woman, for I cannot refuse anything, it seems." He therefore consented to the cessation of debate proposed by Douglas, and the next day both went to the town of Lacon, where they had been billed for speeches. Their agreement was kept from their friends, and both declined to speak—Douglas on the

ground of hoarseness, and Lincoln gallantly refusing to take advantage of "Judge Douglas's indisposition." Here they separated, Lincoln going directly home, and Douglas, as before related, stopping at Princeton and colliding in debate with Owen Lovejoy. Upon being charged afterwards with his breach of agreement Douglas responded that Lovejoy "bantered and badgered" him so persistently that he could not gracefully resist the encounter. The whole thing thoroughly displeased Lincoln.*

Apparently we do not yet know, and perhaps never shall know, the precise nature of Lincoln's truce with Douglas. Their failure to speak at Lacon, where they had been advertised, can not be attributed to the hoarseness of Douglas, for Douglas repeatedly spoke when he was hoarse, and Lincoln did not on those occasions refrain from using his own voice to its utmost. Apparently something was involved in the arrangement which has not fully been disclosed.

The address of Douglas at Princeton occurred on Wednesday, October 18, 1854. John H. Bryant, who was present, said that Douglas spoke a half-hour and was answered by Lovejoy in another half-hour, and that Douglas then talked until dark.

Whatever the nature of the agreement, we have reason to be glad that the real debate was reserved until the campaign of 1858.

The repeal of the Missouri Compromise opened to the possibility of slave occupation an area equal to that of the original thirteen states. Kansas lay directly west of Missouri, and could only be reached from the east by the crossing of Missouri. Senator David Atchison, who had been president of the United States Senate, and who disputed with Douglas the honor of having been the author of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, began the organization of so called "Blue Lodges" whose purpose was to make Kansas a slave state. Bands of border ruffians set out to terrorize those settlements in Kansas that were known to be anti-slavery.

*Herndon's *Lincoln*, ii, pp. 42-43.

Anti-slavery New England took up the challenge. Eli Thayer, of Worcester, began the movement to beard the principle of Squatter Sovereignty in its den by providing a majority of anti-slavery squatters. Colonies moved westward from New England, taking their household goods, and some of them also, their rifles.

Then rose Old John Brown, of Ossawatomie. He had no theory that slavery was to be dealt with tenderly. Much that he did is open to debate, and has been and will be hotly debated; but this he did that needed to be done, he made the doctrine of Squatter Sovereignty a two-edged sword, whose keener edge was turned to the throat of the slave-holding power. For a time there was civil war in Kansas. The term "Bleeding Kansas" was used in Congress and throughout the nation. Not all the blood was shed on one side. The "Emigrant Aid Societies" organized in New England were as determined as were the "Border Ruffians" from Missouri.

Left to itself, Kansas would have received a large proportion of its immigration from Missouri and the South, while Nebraska would have been populated largely from New England and the other northern states. But the Emigrant Aid Societies made it an object for northern immigrants to go to Kansas, furnishing the provisions, building materials, Bibles and Sharp's rifles. Squatter sovereignty was to settle the question whether Kansas was to be a free state or a slave state; but the slaveholders were not doing all the squatting. Eli Thayer and the abolition press were taking a hand in the settlement of Kansas, and so was John Brown, of Ossawatomie.

CHAPTER XXV

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY
1856

When, in 1854, Abraham Lincoln reentered politics, he supposed that he was still a Whig; but the Whig Party was already dead, and neither Lincoln nor the party knew it. He had been a Whig ever since he first defined his political principles. But the Whig Party had sinned away its day of grace. It was scarcely less culpable than the Democratic Party for the condition of slavery in the country. Lincoln and the men who joined with him in opposition to the further extension of slavery were a voice crying in the wilderness.

It might have been expected that Lincoln would have been among the first to discover that the old parties were both on the verge or disruption, and that his future lay with the new party which even in 1854 was coming to the birth; but such was not the case.

On November 17, 1854, a group of men who called themselves the Republican State Central Committee met in Chicago, and Lincoln's name was on the list of those invited to membership. He was out of Springfield when the letter of invitation reached his home, and he may not have been sorry. He wrote a courteous letter,* explaining his failure to reply before the date of the meeting, and added:

I have been perplexed some to understand why my name was placed upon that committee. I was not consulted on the subject,

*Letter to Icobod Codding. Nicolay and Hay, *Works of Lincoln, Gettysburg Edition*, i, p. 264.

nor was I apprised of the appointment until I discovered it by accident two or three weeks afterward. I suppose my opposition to the principle of slavery is as strong as that of any member of the Republican Party; but I have also supposed that the extent to which I feel authorized to carry that opposition, practically, was not at all satisfactory to that party. The leading men who organized that party were present on the 4th of October at the discussion between Douglas and myself in Springfield, and had full opportunity to not misunderstand my position. Do I misunderstand them?

Apparently they did not as yet fully understand each other, and Lincoln went on thinking himself a Whig. As for the Republican Party in Illinois, in 1854, the children came to the birth, and there was not strength to bring them forth. The Whig Party had but a name to live, and the Republican Party did not know that it was yet alive. The hope of freedom lay between two worlds, one dead, the other powerless to be born.

The Whig Party was never really an anti-slavery party. In its organization it included all elements opposed to Jacksonianism. Horace Greeley, in 1838, gave this account of its origin and spirit:

The American Whig Party was formed in the spring of 1834 by a union, so far as their common objects and views seemed to dictate, of all those who condemned the most arbitrary and unconstitutional removal of the deposits of the public treasure by General Jackson, from the one safe, advantageous and proper depository designated by law, into forty or fifty State banks. That reckless and most indefensible measure—which lies at the foundation of all our subsequent commercial, financial and general calamities, necessarily gave rise to an intense political excitement, and to a new organization of parties, in which was partially merged all former distinction.

Greeley then gave five classes of those who made up the Whig Party in 1834,—those who had supported Adams and Clay as National Republicans; "most of those who, acting in defense of what they deemed the assailed or threatened rights of the states,

had been stigmatized as *Nullifiers;*" the Anti-Masons; the Democrats who had revolted against the tyranny of Jackson; and those who had taken no part in politics, but now entered as a protest against the high-handed acts of the administration of Jackson.*

The old political parties were disrupted. A portion of the Whig Party, fearing the influence of foreign domination in American political affairs, formed the "American" or "Know-Nothing" Party. Its principles were the opposition of the party to the influence of men of foreign birth in American affairs. Its motto was "America for Americans." With this party Lincoln had no sympathy. We shall discover later how highly he valued the foreign vote, especially the German vote. Moreover, Lincoln did not feel that the danger to American politics from the naturalized foreigners was nearly so great as it was from the presence of slavery as a controlling issue in the politics of America.

A portion of the Whig Party greater in number than that which went toward the organization of the Know-Nothings, began the organization of what was to be the Republican Party. This, also, for a time, Lincoln regarded with little favor. In general, the older and more conservative Whigs became Know-Nothings, and the younger and more radical became Republicans. For a time Lincoln did neither. He remained an Anti-Nebraska Whig.

But the new Republican Party was not composed wholly of men who had seceded from the Whigs. With them were associated the abolitionists, the Free-soilers, and such as remained from the old Liberty Party. There was also a considerable group of intelligent Germans, Swedes and Norwegians, whose principles were anti-slavery.

In addition to all these, however, there was a large secession from the Democratic Party. David Wilmot, author of the Wil-

*Horace Greeley in *The Whig Almanac* for 1838, quoted in Gorham's *Life of Edwin M. Stanton,* page 23. For a severe condemnation of the heterogeneous combination in the Whig Party, see Bowers' *Party Battles of the Jackson Period.*

mot Proviso, John C. Frémont, William Cullen Bryant, Francis D. and Montgomery Blair, Lyman Trumbull, and other men who believed in what they thought the Democracy of Jefferson, left this party and became members of the new Republican Party.

Lincoln's most intimate Whig associates in and about Springfield were not ahead of him in their advocacy of the new experiment. They still hoped, as Lincoln hoped, for the rejuvenation of the Whig Party. It was a vain hope.

Of the doom of the Whig Party, and of Lincoln's gradual readjustment to that fact, Herndon wrote:

> The Whig Party having accomplished its mission in the political world, was now on the eve of a great break-up. Lincoln realized this, and, though proverbially slow in his movements, prepared to find a firm footing when the great rush of waters should come and the maddening freshet sweep former landmarks out of sight....
>
> Finding himself drifting about with the disorganized elements that floated together after the angry political waters had subsided, it became apparent to Lincoln that if he expected to figure as a leader he must take a stand himself. Mere hatred of slavery and opposition to the injustice of the Kansas-Nebraska legislation were not all that was required of him. He must be a Democrat, Abolitionist, Know-Nothing or Republican, or float forever about in the great political sea without compass, rudder or sail. At length he declared himself. Believing the times were ripe for more advanced movements, in the Spring of 1856 I drew up a paper for friends of freedom to sign, calling a county convention in Springfield to select delegates for the forthcoming Republican State Convention in Bloomington. The paper was freely circulated, and generously signed. Lincoln was absent at the time; and, believing I knew what his feelings and judgment on the vital questions of the hour were, I took the liberty to sign his name to the call. The whole was then published in the Springfield *Journal*. No sooner had it appeared than John T. Stuart, who, with others, was endeavoring to retard Lincoln in his advanced movements, rushed into our office, and excitedly asked "if Lincoln had signed that Abolition call in the *Journal?*" I answered in the negative, adding that I had signed his name

myself. To the question, "Did Lincoln authorize you to sign it?" I returned an emphatic "No." "Then," exclaimed the startled and indignant Stuart, "you have ruined him." But I was by no means alarmed at what others deemed hasty and inconsiderate action. I thought I understood Lincoln thoroughly, but in order to vindicate myself if assailed, I immediately sat down, after Stuart had rushed out of the office, and wrote Lincoln, who was then in Tazewell County, attending court, a brief account of what I had done and how much stir it was creating in the ranks of his conservative friends. If he approved or disapproved my course, I asked him to write or telegraph me at once. In a brief time came his answer: "All right. Go ahead. Will meet you, radicals and all." Stuart subsided, and the conservative spirits who hovered around Springfield no longer held control of the political fortunes of Abraham Lincoln.*

It is possible that Herndon exaggerated somewhat his own part in this proceeding, but his statements can not be wholly wrong. Lincoln emerged at last from the chaos of the collapse of the Whig Party and became a Republican. He was nearly two years in making the decision, and then was in advance of some of his associates; but when he made the choice he made it irrevocably.

The first national convention of the new Republican Party was preliminary and tentative, and was held in Pittsburgh, on Washington's birthday. It paved the way for the formal nominating convention which was held in Philadelphia in June of 1856. It nominated John C. Frémont as president and William L. Dayton as vice-president. It is remarkable that Abraham Lincoln was recognized from the outset as leader of the new party in the Northwest. On the informal ballot for vice-president he received one hundred ten votes.

The Democratic National Convention was held in Cincinnati, June 2, 1856, and nominated James Buchanan for president and John C. Breckenridge, for vice-president. Pierce was not renominated, largely because he had become unpopular on account of the outrages in Kansas. Douglas, who, on the sixteenth ballot,

*Herndon's *Lincoln*, ii, pp. 381-383.

received 121 votes to Buchanan's 168, probably owed his defeat to his responsibility for the Kansas-Nebraska Bill.

Shortly before the National Republican Convention of 1856, a call was issued for a state convention of all who were opposed to the extension of slavery. Lincoln's name, signed by Herndon, as already related, had appeared in the call for a county convention in Springfield to elect delegates from Sangamon to this convention. This convention, at which the Republican Party of Illinois was organized, was held in Bloomington, May 29, 1856.

John M. Palmer, who had been a Democrat, and afterward reverted to his former party relationship, presided. Lyman Trumbull, who had been a Whig and then a Democrat, and who later returned to the Democratic Party, assisted at the birth of the Republican Party of his state. Owen Lovejoy, afterward a member of Congress, was leader of the radicals. Orville H. Browning, afterward senator, led the conservatives.

The convention was made up of men who had come out of different parties, including some who were not more than half-way out. It was made up of men who had never worked together before, and some who could not work together long, unless they were fused into unity by the flame of some guiding purpose, and the leadership of a strong personality.

This convention is notable as the scene of delivery of Lincoln's "Lost Speech." There had been a sharp contest between Browning of the conservatives and Lovejoy of the radicals, and Lincoln had acted as peacemaker. He was chosen at the head of the state electoral ticket, and was from the first recognized as the outstanding leader of the Assembly. The speech of Lincoln was described by Joseph Medill, of the *Chicago Tribune:*

Mr. Emery, a "free-state" man just from "bleeding Kansas," told of the "border ruffian" raids from Missouri upon the free-state settlers in Kansas: the burnings, robberies, and murders they were then committing; and asked for help to repel them. When he finished, Lincoln was vociferously called for from all parts of Major's large hall. He came forward and took the

platform beside the presiding officer. At first his voice was shrill and hesitating. There was a curious introspective look in his eyes, which lasted for a few moments. Then his voice began to move steadily and smoothly forward, and the modulations were under perfect control from thenceforward to the finish. He warmed up as he went on, and spoke more rapidly; he looked a foot taller as he straightened himself to his full height, and his eyes flashed fire; his countenance became wrapped in intense emotion; he rushed along like a thunderstorm. He prophesied war as the outcome of these aggressions, and poured forth hot denunciations upon the slave power. The convention was kept in an uproar, applauding and cheering and stamping; and this reacted on the speaker, and gave him a tongue of fire. The thrilling scene in that old Bloomington hall forty years ago arises in my mind as vividly as the day after its enactment.

There stood Lincoln in the forefront, erect, tall, and majestic in appearance, hurling thunderbolts at the foes of freedom, while the great convention roared its endorsement! I never witnessed such a scene before or since. As he described the aims and aggressions of the unappeasable slaveholders and the servility of their Northern allies as illustrated by the perfidious repeal of the Missouri Compromise two years previously, and their grasping after the rich prairies of Kansas and Nebraska, to blight them with slavery and to deprive free labor of this rich inheritance, and exhorted the friends of freedom to resist them to the death, the convention went fairly wild. It paralleled or exceeded the scene in the Revolutionary Virginia convention of eighty-one years before, when Patrick Henry invoked death if liberty could not be preserved, and said, "After all we must fight." Strange, too, that this same man received death a few years afterwards while conferring freedom on the slave race and preserving the American Union from dismemberment.

Just what Lincoln said in that speech no one knows. He had not written it out, but he had thought much about it. The reporters were too much interested to take even the most fragmentary notes. Henry C. Whitney, an attorney, who had been at Danville where Lincoln had been attending court for about three weeks, wrote out many years afterward what he believed to be the substance of this speech. Medill, who heard the speech it-

self, thought that Whitney had fairly reproduced the thought, and in some instances the very phraseology, of the address. The concluding paragraphs,* as Whitney recalled them, were:

The Union is undergoing a fearful strain; but it is a stout old ship, and has weathered many a hard blow, and "the stars in their courses," aye, an invisible power, greater than the puny efforts of men, will fight for us. But we ourselves must not decline the burden of responsibility, nor take counsel of unworthy passions. Whatever duty urges us to do or to omit, must be done or omitted; and the recklessness with which our adversaries break the laws, or counsel their violation, should afford no example for us. Therefore, let us revere the Declaration of Independence; let us continue to obey the Constitution and the laws; let us keep step to the music of the Union. Let us draw a cordon, so to speak, around the slave States, and the hateful institution, like a reptile poisoning itself, will perish by its own infamy. [Applause.]

But we cannot be free men if this is, by our national choice, to be a land of slavery. Those who deny freedom to others, deserve it not for themselves; and, under the rule of a just God, cannot long retain it. [Loud applause.]

Did you ever, my friends, seriously reflect upon the speed with which we are tending downwards? Within the memory of men now present the leading statesmen of Virginia could make genuine, red-hot abolitionist speeches in old Virginia; and, as I have said, now even in "free Kansas" it is a crime to declare that it is "free Kansas." The very sentiments that I and others have just uttered, would entitle us, and each of us, to the ignominy and seclusion of a dungeon! and yet I suppose that like Paul, we were "free born." But if this thing is allowed to continue, it will be but one step further to impress the same rule in Illinois. [Sensation.]

The conclusion of all is, that we must restore the Missouri Compromise. We must highly resolve that *Kansas must be free!* [Great applause.] We must reinstate the birthday promise of the Republic; we must reaffirm the Declaration of Independence; we must make good in essence as well as in form Madison's avowal that "the word *slave* ought not to appear in the

*From Tarbell's *Life of Lincoln*, ii, 306-321.

Constitution"; and we must even go further, and decree that only local law, and not that time-honored instrument, shall shelter a slave-holder. We must make this a land of liberty in fact, as it is in name. But in seeking to attain these results—so indispensable if the liberty which is our pride and boast shall endure—we will be loyal to the Constitution and to the "flag of our Union," and no matter what our grievance—even though Kansas shall come in as a slave State; and no matter what theirs—even if we shall restore the Compromise—WE WILL SAY TO THE SOUTHERN DISUNIONISTS, WE WON'T GET OUT OF THE UNION AND YOU SHAN'T! ! ! [This was the climax; the audience rose to its feet *en masse,* applauded, stamped, waved handkerchiefs, threw hats in the air, and ran riot for several minutes. The arch-enchanter who wrought this transformation looked, meanwhile, like the personification of political justice.]

But let us, meanwhile, appeal to the sense and patriotism of the people, and not to their prejudices; let us spread the floods of enthusiasm here aroused all over these vast prairies, so suggestive of freedom. Let us commence by electing the gallant soldier Governor (Colonel) Bissell who stood for the honor of our State alike on the plains and amidst the chaparral of Mexico and on the floor of Congress, while he defied the Southern Hotspur; and that will have a greater moral effect than all the border ruffians can accomplish in all their raids on Kansas. There is both a power and a magic in popular opinion. To that let us now appeal; and while, in all probability, no resort to force will be needed, our moderation and forbearance will stand us in good stead when if ever, WE MUST MAKE AN APPEAL TO BATTLE AND TO THE GOD OF HOSTS! ! [Immense applause and a rush for the orator.]

Opinions differ widely as to the accuracy of Whitney's report. A considerable number of those who had attended the convention in 1856 assembled in Bloomington fifty years later for a semi-centennial celebration, and united in the expression of the judgment "that Lincoln's lost speech is still lost."*

Horace White believed that the "lost speech" was not lost;

*I have talked with every known survivor of those who heard the "lost speech." Without exception these men deny the reliability of Whitney's report.

that Lincoln repeated the substance of it again and again as he was constantly speaking throughout the campaign of 1856, and that virtually the whole speech was preserved. Lincoln when invited to write out this address said that he was unable to do so. It is altogether likely that he was not unwilling to let the speech be lost. He had met the situation with a strong forceful utterance that went far enough to please the radicals, and which did not offend the conservatives, and he probably did not care to have the address, just as he delivered it, used in other situations for which it might have been less fitted. Mr. Medill wrote:

My belief is that, after Mr. Lincoln cooled down, he was rather pleased that his speech had not been reported, as it was too radical in expression on the slavery question for the digestion of central and southern Illinois at that time, and that he preferred to let it stand as a remembrance in the minds of his audience. But be that as it may, the effect of it was such on his hearers that he bounded to the leadership of the new Republican party of Illinois, and no man afterwards ever thought of disputing that position with him. On that occasion he planted the seed which germinated into a Presidential candidacy and that gave him the nomination over Seward at the Chicago convention of 1860, which placed him in the Presidential chair, there to complete his predestined work of destroying slavery and making freedom universal, but yielding his life as a sacrifice for the glorious deeds.

It is interesting to know that not all who heard Lincoln's "lost speech" were profoundly impressed by it. Senator O. H. Browning, who as chairman of the Committee on Resolutions, had no doubt that his was the most important contribution to the work of the Convention. As for the oratory of the occasion, he wrote only this in his Diary:

I was called out and made two speeches in the afternoon Convention also addressed by Lovejoy, Lincoln, Cook & others—.

The "lost speech" was lost on Senator Browning.

Whether the speech was lost or not, its influence was not lost.

Not only did it commit Lincoln uncompromisingly to the whole program of the new Republican Party, but it committed that party in Illinois to Lincoln. Not that the party thought unitedly of him as president; but he was thenceforth the unchallenged leader of the party in his own state. The "lost speech" furnished the party its working basis. It unified the discordant elements within the party. Whatever the Committee on Resolutions reported, the real platform of the Republican Party in Illinois was from the hour of its birth the character and personality of Abraham Lincoln.

The young Republican Party, born of discordant elements, leaped into the arena of national politics with a vigor that put to shame the dignified procedure of the old Whig organization.

Frémont was the popular hero of the westward-moving frontier, the explorer of the Rocky Mountain region—"the pathfinder of the West." If his judgment was unstable and erratic, what of it? He was a hero to inspire the people's imagination, and he was opposed to the extension of slavery. They did not talk of "slogans" in those days. That word, taken over from "The Relief of Lucknow"—

> "The Campbells are coming! Dinna ye hear the slogan
> far awa?
> The McGreggors—ah, I ken it weel—
> It's the grandest of them a'!"

was pressed into service when James G. Blaine and John A. Logan almost won an election:—

> "Dinna ye hear the slogan?
> It's all for Blaine and Logan!"

Slogans by any other name are effective; and our free and intelligent country is largely ruled by them. This was the Republican slogan in 1856; and no party ever had a better one:

> "Free land; free speech, free men, Frémont!"

John C. Frémont had done other brave deeds than the opening of a path to the Pacific. He had made love to Jessie Benton, the delicately reared daughter of Thomas Hart Benton, senator from Missouri. As a girl she had not been permitted to turn a door-knob lest it spread her dainty hand; and the sun had been carefully veiled away from her cream-white complexion. This tanned, blustering explorer sought her hand—her delicate hand—and his was as calloused and brown as his saddle! The old Roman father snorted and thundered his refusal. Whereupon, Frémont and she ran away and were married. Oh, young Lochinvar had come out from the West; in all the wide border his steed was the best! How could such a lover fail to ride away with the presidential election! What exploit had James Buchanan ever performed to compare with that? He never ran away with any one's daughter! He was a hopeless old bachelor! With John and Jessie in the White House there would be most interesting possibilities: the American Eagle might divide honors with the stork; but "Old Buck"—They sang in contempt of him to the old English melody of *Vilikins and his Dinah:*

"Here come Johnnie and Jessie
Get out of the way;
It's too late in the season
For you to make hay!"

But the Democratic organization was strongly entrenched; the Republican Party was new and made up of many and heterogeneous elements. If all the Whigs had become Republicans, they, with the anti-slavery Democrats who entered the Republican Party in 1856, could easily have elected Frémont. The scale was turned by appeals to conservative Whigs not to vote for a sectional candidate and thus disrupt the Union. This plea for the union turned enough conservative Whigs to the Democratic Party to insure the success of its ticket. Spite of all good reasons in favor of Frémont and his Jessie, the elected president in 1856 was James Buchanan.

CHAPTER XXVI

THE LINCOLN-DOUGLAS DEBATES
1858

MEANTIME, an event had occurred which both strengthened and weakened Douglas. There had been held at Lecompton, Kansas, a Constitutional Convention, presided over by John Calhoun, Lincoln's old friend, the Illinois surveyor. This convention provided a constitution which practically nullified the doctrine of "popular sovereignty" by making it impossible for the people of Kansas in adopting it to vote separately on the question whether the new state should be admitted as a slave state or a free state. President Buchanan, in his address to Congress, December 9, 1857, urged the admission of Kansas as a slave state under the Lecompton Constitution. This proposition Douglas strongly opposed. He declared that his opposition was not based on his approval or disapproval of slavery, but on his consistent regard for the principle of popular sovereignty. He even went to far as to say that if this principle was adhered to, he did not care whether slavery was voted up or voted down; but he did care that the people of Kansas should have a fair opportunity to decide the slavery matter for themselves.

This opposition of Douglas to the plan of the administration exasperated the slave leaders, who proposed as a punishment that Douglas should be deposed from his position as chairman of the Senate Committee on Territories.

He called at the White House on official business. Mr. Buchanan expostulated with him for opposing the administration in its Kansas policy. At length he went so far as to warn Douglas of the personal consequences. Recalling the fact that Doug-

las had always been a great admirer of General Jackson, the president said:

"You are an ambitious man, Mr. Douglas, and there is a brilliant future for you, if you retain the confidence of the Democrat Party; if you oppose it, let me remind you of the fate of those who in former times rebelled against it. Remember the fate of Senators Rives and Talmadge who opposed General Jackson, when he removed the government deposits from the United States Bank. Beware of their fate, Mr. Douglas."

"Mr. President," replied Douglas, "General Jackson is dead. Good morning, sir!"

Thus Douglas, by an attitude wholly consistent with his past record, and much to his credit, incurred the disfavor of the president and the unqualified opposition of the pro-slavery leaders of his party. But what he lost in the support of the leaders in his own party, he gained in whole or in part in the favor with which his courageous stand was received by many of the leaders among the old-time Whigs. Several of them believed that the duty of the Republicans of Illinois was not to nominate a candidate of their own for senator, but to endorse Douglas. Horace Greeley held this view; in a letter to Lincoln he plainly implied his belief that it was unwise for Lincoln to aspire to the place. He told Lincoln that so far as any help from the *Tribune* was concerned, he must "paddle his own dug-out." These letters profoundly depressed Lincoln.*

Greeley wrote to Joseph Medill, of the *Chicago Tribune,* that the Republicans of Illinois by supporting Lincoln were repelling Douglas, who might have been conciliated and attached to their side.† He apparently saw no danger to the cause in repelling and repudiating Lincoln!

Thus it seemed to some of the foremost Republican leaders in the East that the wisest policy was to reelect Stephen A.

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*"Lincoln was gloomy and restless the entire day. Greeley's letters were driving the enthusiasm out of him." *Herndon,* ii, p. 391.

†*Abraham Lincoln*: *A History,* Nicolay and Hay, ii, p. 140.

Douglas to the United States Senate in 1858, as the most available opponent of a pro-slavery administration, and perhaps make him the Republican candidate for president in 1860.*

Lincoln was compelled to face Douglas, therefore, at a moment when Douglas stood not only as a notable leader of his own party, but as one who had so far incurred the animosity of the leaders of that party that he appeared to some to have become almost a champion of the principles for which the Republican Party stood. Lincoln knew that for himself the future lay in a more uncompromising attitude toward slavery than Douglas could ever assume, and than Lincoln himself had previously felt justified in advocating as the basis of a national political organization.

It is declared by some who heard Lincoln in his "lost speech" at Bloomington in 1856, that he there gave expression to the dictum that the government could not permanently endure half slave and half free. It is said that he eliminated the sentence from his subsequent campaign speeches of that year, in obedience to the emphatic protest of Judge T. Lyle Dickey and others, who believed that its delivery would solidify not only the abolition sentiment of the North but also intensify the slavery sentiment of the South. Judge Dickey himself affirmed this in a letter written in 1866.

Lincoln knew that he would be nominated as the Republican candidate for senator by the Springfield Convention in 1858, and he worked with great care on the address which he was there to deliver. The opening paragraph he committed to memory, and delivered it word for word as he wrote it. It contained the kernel of the issue which he was to contest in the succeeding months with Stephen A. Douglas. This paragraph was modeled upon the opening paragraph of Webster's reply to Hayne:

*As Douglas came so near to being forced into the Republican Party in 1856, it is interesting to inquire whether he himself would have become a Republican if he had lived to the end of the war. The answer, of course, is a matter of conjecture, but in view of the position he took after the war broke out we can hardly believe that he would have supported McClellan in 1864.

STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS
From a contemporary steel engraving

Mr. President and gentlemen of the convention: If we could first know where we are, and whither we are tending, we could better judge what to do, and how to do it. We are now far into the fifth year since a policy was initiated with the avowed object and confident promise of putting an end to slavery agitation. Under the operation of that policy, that agitation has not only not ceased, but has constantly augmented. In my opinion, it will not cease until a crisis shall have been reached and passed. "A house divided against itself cannot stand." I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved; I do not expect the house to fall; but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing, or all the other. Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction, or its advocates will push it forward till it shall become alike lawful in all the States, old as well as new, North as well as South.

Lincoln prepared this speech by writing its paragraphs on stray envelopes and scraps of paper as ideas suggested themselves, and dropping them into that miscellaneous receptacle, his hat. As the convention drew near he copied the whole on connected sheets. On the night before the convention, he invited a dozen or so of his friends into the library of the state-house and read it to them. All but one condemned it. Herndon rejoiced to the day of his death in his own recollection that he encouraged Lincoln to deliver the speech just as he had read it. He said to Lincoln, as he afterward recalled it, "Deliver that speech as read, and it will make you president."

Apparently the full significance of this paragraph was not grasped by all who were present. O. H. Browning wrote in his Diary:

Fine warm day—Attending court—Republican Convention to meet tomorrow & delegates arriving—At night had a small caucus for consultation at the Library, and directed me to draft resolutions.

On the following day, Wednesday, June 16, 1858, Browning wrote:

Lovely day—Republican convention in session. Koerner president—Immense gathering—over a thousand delegates in attendance, and great harmony and enthusiasm. Nominated Miller for Treasurer, & Bateman for superintendent of public instruction. I drafted the platform which was adopted without dissent.

Browning forgot to record the two really significant incidents of the convention, the nomination of Abraham Lincoln as Republican candidate for senator, and the delivery of Lincoln's "house-divided-against-itself" speeech.

Browning, like Lincoln, was a Kentuckian, and his wife also was from Kentucky. He was an able and a conscientious man, and one who deplored the evils of slavery, but was far from being an abolitionist. Absorbed as he was in his own work for the convention, and it was not light or unimportant, and fully appreciative of his own share of what was said and done there, he still was amazingly oblivious of the most significant facts which occurred on this occasion directly under his observation. Fortunately, he usually was more observant.

Lincoln's address was not received by the convention in 1858 with the united enthusiasm of the Bloomington speech of two years before, but it represented his deliberate and unalterable conviction, and his party accepted it. On that issue and as thus defined, Abraham Lincoln entered the arena against Stephen A. Douglas.

Lincoln delivered his "house-divided-against-itself" speech four months before William H. Seward delivered his famous "irrepressible conflict" address. The famous sentence in Seward's Rochester speech read thus:

It is an irrepressible conflict between opposing and enduring forces, and it means that the United States must and will, sooner or later, become either entirely a slave holding nation, or entirely a free labor nation.

Whether Seward had seen Lincoln's speech or not we do not know. In his debate upon the repeal of the Missouri Compromise in March, 1854, he had said:

"Slavery is an eternal struggle between truth and error, right and wrong."

This was a significant utterance, but it did not include the further declaration which both Lincoln and Seward expressed so uncompromisingly in 1858 that the government must ultimately become either wholly free or slavery become national.

Lincoln was a proverbially cautious man. He preferred to fight on the defensive. He moved slowly toward any new position. His "house-divided-against-itself" speech astonished his opponents and dismayed his friends. Under existing circumstances it might have seemed wise on the part of Lincoln to have let his moderation be known by all men, by forcing Douglas to take an extreme position. Douglas himself had some right to claim that he had been a mediator and the author of successful and peacemaking compromise. He could and did defend the Nebraska Bill as a thoroughgoing expression of the American principle of self-determination. He could point with just pride to his opposition to the Lecompton Constitution. He could and did declare that the position which he had taken in Congress had been approved by resolution of the Legislature in his own state.

In these conditions it was a courageous act on the part of Abraham Lincoln to throw to the winds his habitual caution, and against the advice of most of his political friends and supporters, go forth to battle upon the platform of his declaration that the United States could not permanently remain half free and half slave. His political supporters knew what kind of answer Douglas would make to that speech, and they had reason to fear that upon that platform Lincoln would be defeated. Douglas rejoiced when he read Lincoln's "house-divided-against-itself" speech. It gave him an opportunity which he fully appreciated and skilfully used.

When Douglas made his first appearance in Chicago after his

vote in favor of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, church bells tolled in Chicago as if for a funeral; and flags floated at half-mast on vessels in the harbor. He was received with such manifestations of popular disapproval that when he spoke in Chicago on September 3, 1854, it was with no little difficulty he was permitted to deliver his address. Very different was his reception in 1858. No man ever received a more brilliant welcome to the city of Chicago. The streets were decorated, and thronged with people. He was met at the train by an enthusiastic crowd, who escorted him to the Tremont House, where, amid illuminations and decorations such as Chicago had never witnessed, he addressed a crowd that packed Lake Street solidly with eager and enthusiastic citizens. This was the opening speech of his campaign, and was delivered from the balcony on the second floor of the Tremont House, on Friday evening, July 9, 1858.

Douglas had just reached the city, and had been, as he said, two nights without having gone to bed. But he spoke with great vigor. Lincoln knew that this address was coming, and being in Chicago in attendance upon the United States Court, he went to hear it.

Lincoln was received courteously, and he occupied a seat upon the platform. Douglas referred to him more than once, and courteously, in his address. Douglas had committed to memory the opening paragraph of Lincoln's "house-divided-against-itself" speech, and quoted it that night, and in all his speeches throughout the campaign.

Speaking in front of the Tremont House and with Lincoln on the platform behind him, Douglas thus ably defended his own position and accepted the challenge of Lincoln's Springfield speech:

A few days ago the Republican Party of the state of Illinois assembled in convention at Springfield, and not only laid down their platform, but nominated a candidate for the United States Senate, as my successor. I take great pleasure in saying that I have known, personally and intimately, for about a quarter of a

century, the worthy gentleman who has been nominated for my place, and I will say that I regard him as a kind, amiable and intelligent gentleman, a good citizen and an honorable opponent; and whatever issue I may have with him will be of principle, and not involving personalities. Mr. Lincoln made a speech before that Republican Convention which unanimously nominated him for the Senate,—a speech evidently well prepared and carefully written,—in which he states the basis upon which he proposes to carry on the campaign during this summer. In it he lays down two distinct propositions which I shall notice, and upon which I shall take a direct and bold issue with him.

His first and main proposition I will give in his own language, scripture quotations and all [laughter]; I give his exact language: "A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this government cannot endure, permanently, half *slave* and half *free*. I do not expect the Union to be *dissolved*; I do not expect the house to *fall;* but I do expect it to cease to be divided. It will become *all* one thing or *all* the other."

In other words, Mr. Lincoln asserts, as a fundamental principle of this government, that there must be uniformity in the local laws and domestic institutions of each and all the States of the Union; and he therefore invites all the non-slaveholding States to band together, organize as one body, and make war upon slavery in Kentucky, upon slavery in Virginia, upon the Carolinas, upon slavery in all of the slaveholding States in this Union, and to persevere in that war until it shall be exterminated. He then notifies the slaveholding States to stand together as a unit and make an aggressive war upon the free states of this Union with a view of establishing slavery in them all; of forcing it upon Illinois, of forcing it upon New York, upon New England, and upon every other free state, and that they shall keep up the warfare until it has been formally established in them all. In other words, Mr. Lincoln advocates boldly and clearly a war of sections, a war of the North against the South, of the free states against the slave states,—a war of extermination,—to be continued relentlessly until the one or the other shall be subdued, and all the States shall become either free or become slave.

Now, my friends, I must say to you frankly that I take bold, unqualified issue with him upon that principle. I assert that it is neither desirable nor possible that there should be uniformity

in the local institutions and domestic regulations of the different States of this Union. The framers of our government never contemplated uniformity in its internal concerns. The fathers of the Revolution and the sages who made the Constitution well understood that the laws and domestic institutions which would suit the granite hills of New Hampshire would be totally unfit for the rice plantations of South Carolina; they well understood that the laws which would suit the agricultural districts of Pennsylvania and New York would be totally unfit for the large mining regions of the Pacific, or the lumber regions of Maine.

Douglas shrewdly reminded his constituents that Maine had adopted a law prohibiting the sale of liquor, a law which Maine had a right to adopt if she chose, but no right to impose upon Chicago. Our system of government was intentionally elastic so as to permit such diversity of legislation. Maine had a right to take such steps as she chose to control the liquor-traffic within her own borders, and Illinois had the same right and might choose a very different method. Could not the house of the Federal Union stand, though thus divided?

From this view of the case, my friends, I am driven irresistibly to the conclusion that diversity, dissimilarity, variety, in all our local and domestic institutions, is the great safeguard of our liberties, and that the framers of our institutions were wise, sagacious, and patriotic, when they made this government a confederation of sovereign states, with a Legislature for each, and conferred upon each Legislature the power to make all local and domestic institutions to suit the people it represented, without interference from any other State or from the general Congress of the Union. If we expect to maintain our liberties, we must preserve the rights and sovereignty of the states; we must maintain and carry out that great principle of self-government incorporated in the Compromise measures of 1850, indorsed by the Illinois Legislature in 1851, emphatically embodied and carried out in the Kansas-Nebraska bill, and vindicated this year by the refusal to bring Kansas into the Union with a Constitution distasteful to her people.

Douglas took pains to disclaim any leanings toward abolition as the ground of his opposition to the Lecompton Constitution.

He opposed that constitution, as he declared, solely because it was imposed upon the people of Kansas in violation of the principle of self-government. If the people of Kansas had themselves framed and adopted that constitution, he would have made no objection to it:

I will be entirely frank with you. My object was to secure the right of the people of each state and of each territory, North or South, to decide the question for themselves, to have slavery or not, just as they chose; and my opposition to the Lecompton Constitution was not predicated upon the ground that it was a pro-slavery Constitution, nor would my action have been different had it been a Free-soil Constitution. My speech against the Lecompton fraud was made on the ninth of December, while the vote on the slavery clause in that Constitution was not taken until the twenty-first of the same month, nearly two weeks after. I made my speech against the Lecompton monstrosity solely on the ground that it was a violation of the fundamental principles of free government; on the ground that it was not the act and deed of the people of Kansas; that it did not embody their will; that they were averse to it; and hence I denied the right of Congress to force it upon them, either as a free state or a slave state. I deny the right of Congress to force a slaveholding State upon an unwilling people. I deny their right to force a free state upon an unwilling people. I deny their right to force a good thing upon a people who are unwilling to receive it. The great principle is the right of every community to judge and decide for itself whether a thing is right or wrong, whether it would be good or evil for them to adopt it; and the right of free action, the right of free thought, the right of free judgment upon the question is dearer to every true American than any other under a free government. My objection to the Lecompton contrivance was, that it undertook to put a Constitution on the people of Kansas against their will, in opposition to their wishes, and thus violated the great principle upon which all our institutions rest. It is no answer to this argument to say that slavery is an evil, and hence should not be tolerated. You must allow the people to decide for themselves whether it is a good or an evil.

The next night, Lincoln replied to Douglas, speaking from the same balcony of the Tremont Houe. The crowd was smaller

than that which had greeted Douglas, but still was large. Douglas did not attend Lincoln's meeting. He went to the theater with a group of political friends. Lincoln was probably disappointed that Douglas did not pay him the compliment, if it would have been a compliment, of hearing him. Whitney expressed the opinion that Lincoln felt ill at ease "in having intruded upon what was properly Douglas's occasion, and felt that it was not quite the proper thing to be right at his heels at the first moment of his constituents' welcome."* He also thought Lincoln's speech a poor and inadequate reply to Douglas. But not every one shared that opinion.

It would be difficult to say that Lincoln delivered a more able address than Douglas, or as able an address as the one which Lincoln had delivered in Springfield. But he met squarely the charge of Senator Douglas, or "Judge Douglas" as he habitually called him, that Lincoln favored a policy that was sure to result in civil war. He defended frankly and with marked ability the position he had chosen in the Springfield speech. He gave Douglas credit for opposing the Lecompton Constitution, but said that he himself and other Republicans had opposed it before Douglas did, and that Douglas could not claim any virtue above or beyond theirs for taking that position, meritorious though it was.

The Tremont House speech of Lincoln is notable because in it Lincoln uncompromisingly stood by his position with respect to the country's ultimately either becoming wholly slave or wholly free, and because he declared perhaps more emphatically than he ever had before, his own personal hatred of slavery.

Lincoln said in part:

I am not, in the first place, unaware that this government has endured eighty-two years, half slave and half free. I know that. I am tolerably well acquainted with the history of the country, and I know that it has endured eighty-two years, half slave and half free. I *believe*—and that is what I meant to allude to there—

**Life on the Circuit with Lincoln*, p. 462.

I *believe* it has endured, because during all that time, until the introduction of the Nebraska bill, the public mind did rest all the time in the belief that slavery was in course of ultimate extinction. That was what gave us the rest that we had through that period of eighty-two years,—at least, so I believe. I have always hated slavery, I think, as much as any Abolitionist—I have been an Old Line Whig—I have always hated it, but I have always been quiet about it until this new era of the introduction of the Nebraska bill began. I always believed that everybody was against it, and that it was in course of ultimate extinction. [Pointing to Mr. Browning, who stood near by.] Browning thought so; the great mass of the nation have rested in the belief that slavery was in course of ultimate extinction. They had reason so to believe.

The adoption of the Constitution and its attendant history led the people to believe so; and that such was the belief of the framers of the Constitution itself, why did those old men, about the time of the adoption of the Constitution, decree that slavery should not go into the new territory, where it had not already gone? Why declare that within twenty years the African Slave Trade, by which slaves are supplied, might be cut off by Congress? Why were all these acts? I might enumerate more of these acts; but enough. What were they but a clear indication that the framers of the Constitution intended and expected the ultimate extinction of that institution? And now, when I say, as I said in my speech that Judge Douglas has quoted from, when I say that I think the opponents of slavery will resist the farther spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest with the belief that it is in course of ultimate extinction, I only mean to say that they will place it where the founders of this government originally placed it.

Douglas had excited a laugh by his reference to Lincoln's use of the Scripture in his "house-divided-against-itself" speech. Lincoln in his peroration referred to Douglas's reference to Lincoln's use of the Bible. Lincoln's answer to Douglas at this point is a fine expression of his own practical statesmanship and his ethical idealism. If perfect conformity to the ideal was impossible, Lincoln would accept the best that was available, but he would not forget nor hold in scorn the ultimate ideal, however presently unattainable:

My friend has said to me that I am a poor hand to quote Scripture. I will try it again, however. It is said in one of the admonitions of our Lord, "As your Father in Heaven is perfect, be ye also perfect." The Saviour, I suppose, did not expect that any human creature could be perfect as the Father in Heaven; but He said, "As your Father in Heaven is perfect, be ye also perfect." He set that up as a standard; and he who did most toward reaching that standard, attained the highest degree of moral perfection. So I say in relation to the principle that all men are created equal, let it be as nearly reached as we can. If we can not give freedom to every creature, let us do nothing that will impose slavery upon any other creature. Let us then turn this government back into the channel in which the framers of the Constitution originally placed it. Let us stand firmly by each other. If we do not do so we are turning in the contrary direction, that our friend Judge Douglas proposes—not intentionally—as working in the traces tend to make this one universal slave nation. He is one that runs in that direction, and as such I resist him.

In this address Lincoln met the scornful declaration of Douglas that the freedom of the slaves would result in social equality and in intermarriage of the races. This was the most clever of all of Lincoln's rejoinders:

We were often—more than once at least—in the course of Judge Douglas's speech last night, reminded that this government was made for white men; that he believed it was made for white men. Well, that is putting it into a shape in which no one wants to deny it; but the Judge then goes into his passion for drawing inferences that are not warranted. I protest, now and for ever, against that counterfeit logic which presumes that because I did not want a negro woman for a slave, I do necessarily want her for a wife. My understanding is that I need not have her for either, but, as God made us separate, we can leave one another alone, and do one another much good thereby. There are white men enough to marry all the white women, and enough black men to marry all the black women; and in God's name let them be so married. The judge regales us with the terrible enormities that take place by the mixture of races; that the inferior race bears the superior down. Why, Judge, if we do not let them get together in the territories they won't mix there.

Lincoln did not stand wholly on the defensive in this Chicago speech. Without claiming to be more altruistic than a politician might reasonably claim to be, he advanced to a position where he could demand that this slavery issue be met, not as something morally indifferent, but as a question profoundly ethical. He said:

I do not claim, gentlemen, to be unselfish; I do not pretend that I would not like to go to the United States Senate,—I make no such hypocritical pretense; but I do say to you that in this mighty issue, it is nothing to you—nothing to the mass of the people of the nation, whether or not Judge Douglas or myself shall ever be heard of after this night; it may be a trifle to either of us, but in connection with this mighty question, upon which hang the destinies of the nation, perhaps, it is absolutely nothing; but where will you be placed if you re-indorse Judge Douglas? Don't you know how apt he is, how exceedingly anxious he is at all times, to seize upon anything and everything to persuade you that something *he* has done *you* did yourselves? Why, he tried to persuade you last night that our Illinois Legislature instructed him to introduce the Nebraska bill. There was nobody in that Legislature ever thought of such a thing; and when he first introduced the bill, he never thought of it; but still he fights furiously for the proposition, and that he did it because there was a standing instruction to our Senators to be always introducing Nebraska bills. He tells you he is for the Cincinnati platform, he tells you he is for the Dred Scott decision. He tells you, not in his speech last night, but substantially in a former speech, that he cares not if slavery is voted up or down—he tells you the struggle on Lecompton is past—it may come up again or not, and if it does he stands where he stood when in spite of him and his opposition, you built up the Republican party. If you endorse him, you tell him you do not care whether slavery be voted up or down.

Lincoln's address was received with an enthusiasm almost equal to that which had greeted Douglas. The campaign of 1858 was fairly opened.

Then Douglas began his triumphal tour of Illinois, making between July ninth and November seventh almost if not quite a

hundred political addresses in various parts of the state. He waited just a week in Chicago and then set forth on a special train with much waving of banners and with many cheers.

On the following Friday, July sixteenth, Douglas spoke at Bloomington. Lincoln went over from Springfield to hear him. Again Douglas quoted Lincoln's Springfield speech. With great ability Douglas set forth the inevitable disaster which would follow the acceptance of Lincoln's announced position. The nation always had been half slave and half free. The government at the outset had recognized that situation. It was a condition which could not be changed without violence on the part of one section against the other, and the ultimate disruption of the Union itself:

The Republican Convention, when it assembled at Springfield, did me and the country the honor of indicating the man who was to be their standard-bearer, and the embodiment of their principles, in this state. I owe them my gratitude for thus making up a direct issue between Mr. Lincoln and myself. I shall have no controversies of a personal character with Mr. Lincoln. I have known him well for a quarter of a century. I have known him, as you all know him, a kind-hearted, amiable gentleman, a right good fellow, a worthy citizen, of eminent ability as a lawyer, and I have no doubt, sufficient ability to make a good Senator. The question, then, for you to decide is, whether his principles are more in accordance with the genius of our free institutions, the peace and harmony of the Republic, than those which I advocate. He tells you, in his speech made at Springfield, before the Convention which gave him his unanimous nomination, that

"A house divided against itself can not stand."

"I believe this Government can not endure permanently, half slave and half free."

"I do not expect the Union to be dissolved—I don't expect the house to fall—but I do expect it will cease to be divided."

"It will become all one thing or all the other."

That is the fundamental principle upon which he sets out in this campaign. Well, I do not suppose you will believe one word of it when you come to examine it carefully, and see its

consequences. Although the Republic has existed from 1789 to this day, divided into free states and slave states, yet we are told that in the future it can not endure unless they shall become all free or all slave. For that reason he says, as the gentleman in the crowd says, that they must be all free. He wishes to go to the Senate of the United States in order to carry out that line of public policy which will compel all the States in the South to become free. How is he going to do it? Has Congress any power over the subject of slavery in Kentucky, or Virginia, or any other state of this Union? How, then, is Mr. Lincoln going to carry out that principle which he says is essential to the existence of this Union, to-wit: That slavery must be abolished in all the states of the Union, or must be established in them all? You convince the South that they must either establish slavery in Illinois, and in every other free state, or submit to its abolition in every southern state, and you invite them to make a warfare upon the northern states in order to establish slavery, for the sake of perpetuating it at home.

Douglas demanded to know how Lincoln proposed to accomplish the result which he desired, the making of a nation wholly free, and declared that Lincoln as a lawyer knew there was only one way by which he could do it, which would be by constitutional amendment, and that way would lead to violence. But he maintained that the only way in which slavery had been eliminated from any portion of the United States, had been by the recognition of the principle of popular sovereignty:

How is he to accomplish what he professes must be done in order to save the Union? Mr. Lincoln is a lawyer, sagacious and able enough to tell you how he proposes to do it. I ask Mr. Lincoln how it is that he proposes ultimately to bring about this uniformity in each and all of the states of the Union. There is but one possible mode which I can see, and perhaps Mr. Lincoln intends to pursue it; that is, to introduce a proposition into the Senate to change the Constitution of the United States, in order that all the State Legislatures may be abolished, state sovereignty blotted out, and the power conferred upon Congress to make local laws and establish the domestic institutions and police regu-

lations uniformly throughout the United States. Are you prepared for such a change in the institutions of your country?

There is but one possible way in which slavery can be abolished, and that is by leaving a state, according to the principle of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, perfectly free to form and regulate its institutions in its own way. That was the principle upon which this Republic was founded, and it is under the operation of that principle that we have been able to preserve the Union thus far. Under its operations, slavery disappeared from New Hampshire, from Rhode Island, from Connecticut, from New York, from New Jersey, from Pennsylvania, from six of the twelve original slaveholding states; and this gradual system of emancipation went on quietly, peacefully and steadily, so long as we in the free states minded our own business, and left our neighbors alone. But the moment the abolition societies were organized throughout the North, preaching a violent crusade against slavery in the southern states, this combination necessarily caused a counter-combination in the South, and a sectional line was drawn which was a barrier to any further emancipation.

On the following day Saturday, July 17, 1858, Senator Douglas spoke in Springfield. He was warmly received, but he knew that he had strong enemies as well as warm friends in his audience. Lincoln was not present, but many of his friends were there, and they heard Douglas tear to tatters the speech to which they had listened with such trepidation when Lincoln delivered it. Douglas repeated the opening paragraph of Lincoln's "house-divided-against-itself" speech, and told the Springfield voters what would follow if that principle were accepted:

Now, Mr. Lincoln says that he will not enter into Kentucky to abolish slavery there, but that all he will do is to fight slavery in Kentucky from Illinois. He will not go over there to set fire to the match. I do not think he would. Mr. Lincoln is a very prudent man. He would not deem it wise to go over into Kentucky to stir up this strife, but he would do it from this side of the river. Permit me to inquire whether the wrong, the outrage of interference by one state with the local concerns of an-

other, is worse when you actually invade them than it would be if you carried on the warfare from another state? . . . . But yet, he says he is going to persevere in this system of sectional warfare, and I have no doubt he is sincere in what he says. He says that the existence of the Union depends upon his success in firing into these slave States until he exterminates them. He says that unless he shall play his batteries successfully, so as to abolish slavery in every one of the States, that the Union shall be dissolved; and he says that a dissolution of the Union would be a terrible calamity. Of course it would. We are all friends of the Union. We all believe—I do—that our lives, our liberties, our hopes in the future depend upon the preservation and perpetuity of this glorious Union. I believe that the hopes of the friends of liberty throughout the world depend upon the perpetuity of the American Union. But while I believe that my mode of preserving the Union is a very different one from that of Mr. Lincoln, I believe that the Union can only be preserved by maintaining inviolate the Constitution of the United States as our fathers have made it. That Constitution guarantees to the people of every state the right to have slavery or not have it; to have negroes or not have them; to have Maine liquor laws or not have them; to have just such institutions as they choose, each state being left free to decide for itself. The framers of that Constitution never conceived the idea that uniformity in the domestic institutions of the different States was either desirable or possible.

An important part of the campaign issue gathered about the Dred Scott decision. A slave by that name had been taken by his master from a slave state into a state where slavery was prohibited. Action was brought in the Federal Court on the ground that Scott, not being an escaped fugitive, but having been voluntarily taken by his master into territory where slavery was prohibited, had by that act of the master become free. The case was argued before the Supreme Court in May, 1854. The decision was postponed until after the presidential election of 1856. It is quite possible that had the decision been announced before the election, the result of the election would have been changed. The decision was handed down by Chief Justice Roger B. Taney. The court held that Dred Scott, being descended from an African

slave, was not and could not be a citizen of the United States, and could not come into court. This decision disposed of the case itself, and became the basis for the declaration that the Supreme Court had held that "the negro had no rights which the white man is bound to respect." But as the point had been made in the argument that by the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, Scott was free because he had been taken into a free territory, the court proceeded to say in an *obiter dictum* that Congress had no power to prohibit slavery in the territories, since by the Constitution slavery was legal in all the territories.

This decision virtually nationalized slavery. Furthermore, as both Congress and the president were already committed to the slavery program, this decision seemed to the friends of freedom to deliver the third and last department of the Federal government to the slave holding interests. The whole government, executive, legislative, judicial had become the instrument of slavery.

Douglas did not avoid a discussion of the Dred Scott case. He did not himself defend in its entirety the utterance of Judge Taney in handing down the Dred Scott decision, but he did maintain that the constitutionality of the fugitive slave law had been tested in the legal and proper way, namely, by the orderly and lawful decision of the Supreme Court of the United States. He might have his own opinion, and so might Mr. Lincoln, as to some of the things involved in that decision, but the decision itself had been reached in constitutional fashion. Incidentally, he ventured to forecast the results of a Republican victory if one should occur two years later, and he thought of Mr. Seward as a possible president, and Abraham Lincoln as a judge on the Supreme bench, wrestling with the problem of reversing the Dred Scott decision:

The Constitution says that the judicial power of the United States shall be vested in the Supreme Court, and such inferior courts as Congress shall, from time to time, ordain and establish. Hence it is the province and duty of the Supreme Court to pro-

nounce judgment on the validity and constitutionality of an Act of Congress. In this case they have done so, and Mr. Lincoln will not submit to it, and he is going to reverse it by another Act of Congress of the same tenor. My opinion is that Mr. Lincoln ought to be on the Supreme Bench himself, when the Republicans get into power, if that kind of law knowledge qualifies a man for the bench. But Mr. Lincoln intimates that there is another mode by which he can reverse the Dred Scott decision. How is that? Why, he is going to appeal to the people to elect a president who will appoint judges who will reverse the Dred Scott decision. Well, let us see how that is going to be done. First, he has to carry on his sectional organization, a party confined to the free states, making war upon the slaveholding states until he gets a Republican president elected. ["He never will, sir."] I do not believe he ever will. But suppose he should; when that Republican president shall have taken his seat (Mr. Seward, for instance), will he then proceed to appoint judges? No! he will have to wait until the present judges die before he can do that, and perhaps his four years would be out before a majority of these judges found it agreeable to die; and it is very possible, too, that Mr. Lincoln's senatorial term would expire before these judges would be accommodating enough to die. If it should so happen I do not see a very great prospect for Mr. Lincoln to reverse the Dred Scott decision. But suppose they should die, then how are the new judges to be appointed? Why, the Republican president is to call upon the candidates and catechise them, and ask them, "How will you decide this case if I appoint you judge?" Suppose, for instance, Mr. Lincoln to be a candidate for a vacancy on the Supreme Bench to fill Chief Justice Taney's place and when he applied to Seward, the latter would say, "Mr. Lincoln, I can not appoint you until I know how you will decide the Dred Scott case?" Mr. Lincoln tells him, and Seward then asks him how he will decide Tom Jones's case, and Bill Wilson's case, and thus catechises the judge as to how he will decide any case which may arise before him. Suppose you get a Supreme Court composed of such judges, who have been appointed by a partisan President upon their giving pledges how they would decide a case before it arose,—what confidence would you have in such a court?

Would not your court be prostituted beneath the contempt of all mankind? What man would feel that his liberties were safe,

his right of person or property was secure, if the Supreme Bench, that august tribunal, the highest on earth, was brought down to that low, dirty pool wherein the judges are to give pledges in advance how they will decide all the questions which may be brought before them? It is a proposition to make that court the corrupt, unscrupulous tool of a political party. But Mr. Lincoln can not conscientiously submit, he thinks, to the decision of a court composed of a majority of Democrats. If he cannot, how can he expect us to have confidence in a court composed of a majority of Republicans, selected for the purpose of deciding against the Democracy, and in favor of the Republicans? The very proposition carries with it the demoralization and degradation destructive of the judicial department of the Federal government.

I say to you, fellow-citizens, that I have no warfare to make upon the Supreme Court because of the Dred Scott decision. I have no complaints to make against that court, because of that decision. My private opinions on some points of the case may have been one way and on other points of the case another; in some things concurring with the court and in others dissenting; but what have my private opinions in a question of law to do with the decision after it has been pronounced by the highest judicial tribunal known to the Constitution?

Douglas did not fail to employ his best popular argument by reminding the people of the direful consequences of Mr. Lincoln's alleged position that the negro was the white man's equal. If Mr. Lincoln wanted to claim kinship with the negro, Senator Douglas had no objection, but Douglas refused to accept the negro as a relative of his own. He said:

In his Chicago speech he says, in so many words, that it includes the negroes, that they were endowed by the Almighty with the right of equality with the white man, and therefore that that right is divine—a right under the higher law; that the law of God makes them equal to the white man, and therefore that the law of the white man cannot deprive them of that right. This is Mr. Lincoln's argument. He is conscientious in his belief. I do not question his sincerity; I do not doubt that he, in his conscience, believes that the Almighty made the negro equal to the

white man. He thinks that the negro is his brother. I do not think that the negro is any kin of mine at all. And here is the difference between us. I believe that the Declaration of Independence, in the words "all men are created equal," was intended to allude only to the people of the United States, to men of European birth or descent, being white men. . . . The Declaration of Independence only included the white people of the United States. The Constitution of the United States was framed by the white people, it ought to be administered by them, leaving each State to make such regulations concerning the negro as it chooses.

On the evening of the same day, Mr. Lincoln replied to Senator Douglas. He spoke of his own humble station and of the high position of Senator Douglas. He said:

Senator Douglas is of world-wide renown. All the anxious politicians of his party, or who have been of his party for years past, have been looking upon him as certainly, at no distant day, to be the president of the United States. They have seen in his round, jolly, fruitful face, post-offices, land-offices, marshalships and cabinet appointments, chargeships and foreign missions, bursting and sprouting out in wonderful exuberance, ready to be laid hold of by their greedy hands. And as they have been gazing upon this attractive picture so long, they can not, in the little distraction that has taken place in the party, bring themselves to give up the charming hope; but with greedier anxiety they rush about him, sustain him, and give him marches, triumphal entries, and receptions beyond what even in the days of his highest prosperity they could have brought about in his favor. On the contrary, nobody has ever expected me to be president. In my poor, lean, lank face, nobody has ever seen that any cabbages were sprouting out. These are disadvantages, all taken together, that the Republicans labor under. *We* have to fight this battle upon principle, and upon principle alone. I am, in a certain sense, made the standard-bearer in behalf of the Republicans. I was made so merely because there had to be some one so placed,—I being in no wise preferable to any other one of the twenty-five, perhaps a hundred, we have in the Republican ranks. Then I say I wish it to be distinctly understood and borne

in mind, that we have to fight this battle without many—perhaps without any—of the external aids which are brought to bear against us. So I hope those with whom I am surrounded have principle enough to nerve themselves for the task, and leave nothing undone that can be fairly done to bring about the right result.

Lincoln's position, chosen by himself, had now been challenged. He was now compelled to defend his "house-divided-against-itself" speech in the place where he had made it, and he accepted that challenge. He repeated the declaration of that belief, which he carefully differentiated from any desire on his part of provoking a civil war. He reaffirmed that the government of the United States could not permanently endure if part of the states were to accept slavery as a permanent institution, and the others were to stand in permanent antagonism to it. He said:

When he [Douglas] was preparing his plan of campaign, Napoleon-like, in New York, as appears by two speeches I have heard him deliver since his arrival in Illinois, he gave special attention to a speech of mine, delivered here on the 16th of June last. He says that he carefully read that speech. He told us that at Chicago a week ago last night, and he repeated it at Bloomington last night. Doubtless, he repeated it again to-day, though I did not hear him. In the two first places—Chicago and Bloomington—I heard him; to-day I did not. He said he had carefully examined that speech,—*when,* he did not say; but there is no reasonable doubt it was when he was in New York preparing his plan of campaign. I am glad he did read it carefully. He says it was evidently prepared with great care. I freely admit it was prepared with care. I claim not to be more free from errors than others,—perhaps scarcely so much; but I was very careful not to put anything in that speech as a matter of fact, or make any inferences which did not appear to me to be true and fully warrantable. If I made any mistake I was willing to be corrected; if I had drawn any inference in regard to Judge Douglas, or any one else, which was not warranted, I was fully prepared to modify it as soon as discovered. I planted myself upon the truth and the truth only, so far as I knew it, or could be brought to know it.

Although I have ever been opposed to slavery, so far I rested in the hope and belief that it was in the course of ultimate

extinction. For that reason, it had been a minor question with me. I might have been mistaken; but I had believed, and now believe, that the whole public mind, that is, the mind of the great majority, had rested in that belief up to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. But upon that event, I became convinced that either I had been resting in a delusion, or the institution was being placed on a new basis,—a basis for making it perpetual, national and universal. Subsequent events have greatly confirmed me in that belief. I believe that bill to be the beginning of a conspiracy for that purpose. So believing, I have since then considered that question a paramount one. So believing, I thought the public mind will never rest till the power of Congress to restrict the spread of it shall again be acknowledged and exercised on the one hand, or, on the other, all resistance be entirely crushed out. I have expressed that opinion, and I entertain it to-night.

Both in Chicago and in Springfield Lincoln followed Douglas, and answered him on the same or the following day. For this program Lincoln was much criticized. He was declared to be taking advantage of the reputation of Senator Douglas to secure crowds which his own reputation would not have sufficed to assemble; and, of course, in each such case, Lincoln had the advantage, highly prized by lawyers, of the closing argument. Again, after an interval of two weeks, the two men were in Chicago, and both at the Tremont House. Although they met personally, and on friendly terms, the formalities of their arrangement were conducted through seconds. Lincoln sent to Douglas, under date of July twenty-fourth, a formal challenge to stump the state together in a joint debate. Douglas replied that his dates were already fixed, and that Democratic candidates, congressional and local, were expecting to be present and speak at his several appointments, thus occupying all the time. But he accepted the challenge to the extent of seven joint debates, one in each congressional district except the two containing the cities of Chicago and Springfield, in which they had already spoken. Lincoln thereafter absented himself from Douglas's exclusive meetings, and informed Douglas of his purpose so to do. The corre-

spondence involved some sparring, and concluded with the selection by Douglas, as the challenged party, of the dates and places indicated in the final letters of this correspondence:

Mr. Douglas to Mr. Lincoln

Bement, Piatt Co., Ill., July 30, 1858.

Dear Sir:—Your letter dated yesterday, accepting my proposition for a joint discussion at one prominent point in each Congressional District, as stated by my previous letter, was received this morning.

The times and places designated are as follows:—

Ottawa, La Salle County.....	August	21st,	1858.
Freeport, Stephenson County..	"	27th,	"
Jonesboro, Union County	September	15th,	"
Charleston, Coles County	"	18th,	"
Galesburg, Knox County	October	7th,	"
Quincy, Adams County	"	13th,	"
Alton, Madison County	"	15th,	"

I agree to your suggestion that we shall alternately open and close the discussion. I will speak at Ottawa one hour, you can reply, occupying an hour and a half, and I will follow for half an hour. At Freeport, you shall open the discussion and speak one hour, I will follow for an hour and a half, and you can then reply for half an hour. We will alternate in like manner in each successive place.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

S. A. Douglas.

Hon. A. Lincoln, Springfield, Ill.

Mr. Lincoln to Mr. Douglas

Springfield, July 31, 1858.

Hon. S. A. Douglas: Dear Sir,—Yours of yesterday, naming places, times and terms, for joint discussion between us, was received this morning. Although, by the terms, as you propose, you take *four* openings and closes, to my *three*, I accede, and thus close the arrangement. I direct this to you at Hillsboro,

and shall try to have both your letter and this appear in the *Journal* and *Register* of Monday morning.

Your obedient servant,

A. Lincoln.

The political newspapers of Chicago made elaborate preparations for the reporting and printing of the speeches. The *Press and Tribune,* now the *Tribune,* employed Horace White and Robert R. Hitt as its reporters, and the *Times* employed Henry Binmore and James B. Sheridan. These were four competent reporters. There was a considerable variation in the reports. The outdoor surroundings, the variable winds, the jostling crowds, the noise and inadequate facilities in the way of tables, made accurate reports difficult; and it must be acknowledged that each side reported its own candidate more carefully than the other. The charges of misquoting lessened as the campaign proceeded. The speeches were not telegraphed to Chicago. The reporters transcribed their notes, taking them personally from the nearer places, and mailing them or sending them by messengers from the more distant cities. In the printed volumes, Lincoln's speeches are quoted from the *Press and Tribune,* and those of Douglas from the *Times.*

The first joint debate was held in Ottawa, Saturday, August 21, 1858. Douglas had the opening hour and closing half-hour, and Lincoln spoke one and one-half hours between. In this debate there was free interchange of personalities, courteous according to the standards of the time, but with a free and rough humor much appreciated by the audience. Each speaker told how successful the other man had been, and how unsuccessful he himself was, and neither deceived any one by his mock humility.

Douglas led off in this play to the galleries:

In the remarks I have made on this platform, and the position of Mr. Lincoln upon it, I mean nothing personally disrespectful or unkind to that gentleman. I have known him for nearly twenty-five years. There were many points of sympathy between us when we first got acquainted. We were both com-

paratively boys, and both struggling with poverty in a strange land. I was a school-teacher in the town of Winchester, and he a flourishing grocery-keeper in the town of Salem. He was more successful in his occupation than I was in mine, and hence more fortunate in this world's goods. Lincoln is one of those peculiar men who perform with admirable skill everything which they undertake. I made as good a school-teacher as I could, and when a cabinet maker I made a good bedstead and tables, although my old boss said I succeeded better with bureaus and secretaries than with anything else; but I believe that Lincoln was always more successful in business than I, for his business enabled him to get into the Legislature. I met him there, however, and had a sympathy with him, because of the up-hill struggle we both had in life. He was then just as good at telling an anecdote as now. He could beat any of the boys wrestling, or running a foot-race, in pitching quoits or tossing a copper; could ruin more liquor than all of the boys of the town together; and the dignity and impartiality with which he presided at a horse-race or fist-fight excited the admiration and won the praise of everybody that was present and participated. I sympathized with him because he was struggling with difficulties, and so was I. Mr. Lincoln served with me in the Legislature in 1836, when we both retired, and he subsided, or became submerged, and he was lost sight of as a public man for some years. In 1846, when Wilmot introduced his celebrated proviso, and the Abolition tornado swept over the country, Lincoln again turned up as a member of Congress from the Sangamon district. I was then in the Senate of the United States, and was glad to welcome my old friend and companion. Whilst in Congress, he distinguished himself by his opposition to the Mexican War, taking the side of the common enemy against his own country; and when he returned home he found that the indignation of the people followed him everywhere, and he was again submerged or obliged to retire into private life, forgotten by his former friends. He came up again in 1854, just in time to make this abolition or Black Republican platform, in company with Giddings, Lovejoy, Chase, and Fred Douglass, for the Republican party to stand upon.

Lincoln had, indeed, kept a country store; but a "grocery" as then understood, was a place principally for the sale of liquor.

Lincoln took pains to have it understood that he had never kept that kind of establishment, and he also took pains to refute the charge that he had shown lack of loyalty to his country or her soldiers, in his opposition to the Mexican War:

Now I pass on to consider one or two more of these little follies. The judge is woefully at fault about his early friend Lincoln being a "grocery-keeper." I don't know as it would be a great sin, if I had been; but he is mistaken. Lincoln never kept a grocery anywhere in the world. It is true that Lincoln did work the latter part of one winter in a little still-house, up at the head of a hollow. And so I think my friend the Judge is equally at fault when he charges me at the time when I was in Congress of having opposed our soldiers who were fighting in the Mexican War. The judge did not make his charge very distinctly, but I can tell you what he can prove, by referring to the record. You remember I was an old Whig, and whenever the Democratic party tried to get me to vote that the war had been righteously begun by the president, I would not do it. But whenever they asked for any money, or land-warrants, or anything to pay the soldiers there, during all that time, I gave the same vote that Judge Douglas did. You can think as you please as to whether that was consistent. Such is the truth; and the Judge has the right to make all he can out of it. But when he, by a general charge, conveys the idea that I withheld supplies from the soldiers who were fighting in the Mexican War, or did anything else to hinder the soldiers, he is, to say the least, grossly and altogether mistaken, as a consultation of the records will prove to him.

As I have not used up so much of my time as I had supposed, I will dwell a little longer upon one or two of these minor topics upon which the Judge has spoken. He has read from my speech in Springfield, in which I say that "a house divided against itself cannot stand." Does the judge say it *can* stand? I don't know whether he does or not. The judge does not seem to be attending to me just now, but I would like to know, if it is his opinion that a house divided against itself *can stand*. If he does, then there is a question of veracity, not between him and me, but between the judge and an authority of a somewhat higher character.

The second of the joint debates occurred at Freeport, Friday, August twenty-seventh. This was the northernmost point in which a debate occurred, and Lincoln took advantage of this fact to propound to Douglas a series of interrogatories whose answers by Douglas are known as the "Freeport heresy." The crucial question which he propounded to Douglas was, "Can the people of a United States territory in any lawful way, against the wish of any citizen of the United States, exclude slavery from its limits prior to the formation of a state constitution?"

This was no new question to Douglas, for Lyman Trumbull had propounded it to him more than two years earlier on June 9, 1856. At that time, however, the Dred Scott decision had not been rendered, and Douglas was able to say that this was a judicial question and that a good Democrat would stand by the decision of the court. Now that decision had been rendered, and Douglas made the best of a painful necessity, and declared that the people of a state could attain that result by virtue of the police power which they might exercise through unfriendly legislation. Lincoln knew that this answer would gain Douglas some immediate support, but ultimately would lose him many votes in the South, and very possibly would defeat his hopes for the presidency. This is the answer of Douglas:

The next question propounded to me by Mr. Lincoln is, Can the people of a Territory in any lawful way, against the wishes of any citizen of the United States, exclude slavery from their limits prior to the formation of a state constitution? I answer emphatically, as Mr. Lincoln has heard me answer a hundred times from every stump in Illinois, that in my opinion the people of a territory can, by lawful means, exclude slavery from their limits prior to the formation of a state constitution. Mr. Lincoln knew that I had answered that question over and over again. He heard me argue the Nebraska bill on that principle all over the state in 1854, in 1855, and in 1856, and he has no excuse for pretending to be in doubt as to my position on that question. It matters not what way the Supreme Court may hereafter decide as to the abstract question whether slavery may or may not go into a ter-

ritory under the Constitution, the people have the lawful means to introduce it or exclude it as they please, for the reason that slavery cannot exist a day or an hour anywhere, unless it is supported by local police regulations. Those police regulations can only be established by the local legislature; and if the people are opposed to slavery, they will elect representatives to that body who will by unfriendly legislation effectually prevent the introduction of it into their midst. If, on the contrary, they are for it, their legislation will favor its extension. Hence, no matter what the decision of the Supreme Court may be on that abstract question, still the right of the people to make a slave territory or a free territory is perfect and complete under the Nebraska bill. I hope Mr. Lincoln deems my answer satisfactory on that point.

Lincoln can not have been very well satisfied with the immediate effect of this answer; and some of his friends regretted his having asked it. Lincoln knew, however, that whatever Douglas gained in the North by this declaration, he would lose in the South. It is claimed that by this question Lincoln deliberately gave Douglas the senatorship, that later he might defeat Douglas for the presidency; but this is too much to claim in the way of political sagacity and foresight. Few if any politicians, with a high office within their grasp, deliberately sacrifice it for the sake of a larger possibility two years remote. The contingencies of political life are too many and too uncertain for such a gamble against the fates. Lincoln knew what Douglas would answer, and knew that Douglas would lose quite as much as he would gain by it.

The discussions at Jonesboro and Charleston followed on Wednesday and Saturday, September fifteenth and eighteenth respectively, and then occurred the memorable debate at Galesburg, Thursday, October seventh. Knox College, on whose campus this discussion occurred, believed in Lincoln, and when he was elected president, conferred on him the degree Doctor of Laws.*

*The motion to confer this degree on Lincoln was made by O. H. Browning, a member of the Knox College Board of Trustees.

Lincoln was among his friends at Galesburg. Above the stand where he and Douglas spoke was a great banner bearing the legend, "Knox College for Lincoln." There Lincoln set forth more strongly than he had done elsewhere, not simply his own conviction that the nation must become either wholly slave or wholly free, but his belief that the position taken by Douglas with reference to the Dred Scott decision was preparing inevitably to make slavery national. If property in slaves was the same morally as property in horses or other chattels, then Douglas was right, and his position was entirely logical in profession not to care whether slavery was voted up or down. But Lincoln contended that between slavery and all other forms of property was a high moral distinction which Douglas with his great skill and ability was steadfastly endeavoring to obliterate. Commenting on Douglas's statement that he did not care whether slavery was voted up or down, he said:

This is perfectly logical, if you do not admit that slavery is wrong. If you do admit that it is wrong, Judge Douglas cannot logically say he don't care whether a wrong is voted up or voted down. Judge Douglas declares that if any community wants slavery they have a right to have it. He can say that logically, if he says that there is no wrong in slavery; but if you admit that there is a wrong in it, he cannot logically say that anybody has a right to do wrong. He insists that, upon the score of equality, the owners of slaves and owners of property—of horses and every other sort of property—should be alike, and hold them alike in a new Territory. That is perfectly logical if the two species of property are alike and are equally founded in right. But if you admit that one of them is wrong, you can not institute any equality between right and wrong. And from this difference of sentiment,—the belief on the part of one that the institution is wrong, and a policy springing from that belief which looks to the arrest of the enlargement of that wrong; and this other sentiment, that it is no wrong, and a policy sprung from that sentiment, which will tolerate no idea of preventing the wrong from growing larger, and looks to there never being an end to it through all the existence of things,—arises the real dif-

ference between Judge Douglas and his friends on the one hand, and the Republicans on the other. Now, I confess myself as belonging to that class in the country who contemplate slavery as a moral, social, and political evil, having due regard for its actual existence amongst us and the difficulties of getting rid of it in any satisfactory way, and to all the constitutional obligations which have been thrown about it; but, nevertheless, desire a policy that looks to the prevention of it as a wrong, and looks hopefully to the time when as a wrong it may come to an end.

Webster, Calhoun and Clay were dead. Douglas was probably the ablest man in the United States Senate in the year 1858. His success as a compromiser had caused him frequently to be alluded to as a successor of Henry Clay. One of the ablest paragraphs in Lincoln's address at Galesburg was that in which he quoted Clay himself on the slavery question, contrasting his position with that of Douglas, and planted himself irrevocably on the moral aspects of the issue. The Republican Party had been charged by Douglas with being a sectional and divisive party. Lincoln declared that it was the friends of slavery who were sectional and divisive. Freedom was national; slavery was sectional, and the issue between those who favored freedom and those who favored slavery was incontestably a moral issue. Here Lincoln made a frank avowal of the doctrine of the Liberty Party of 1840 and 1844. But Lincoln cited as his authority, not that party but Henry Clay. This is the fine paragraph in which Lincoln quoted Clay against Douglas and reaffirmed the unalterable quality of the slavery issue:

I have said once before, and I will repeat it now, that Mr. Clay, when he was once answering an objection to the Colonization Society, that it had a tendency to the ultimate emancipation of the slaves, said that "those who would repress all tendencies to liberty and ultimate emancipation must do more than put down the benevolent efforts of the Colonization Society—they must go back to the era of our liberty and independence, and muzzle the cannon that thunders its annual joyous return; they must blot out the moral lights around us; they must penetrate

the human soul, and eradicate the light of reason and the love of liberty!" And I do think—I repeat, though I said it on a former occasion—that Judge Douglas and whoever, like him, teaches that the negro has no share, humble though it may be, in the Declaration of Independence, is going back to the era of our liberty and independence, and, so far as in him lies, muzzling the cannon that thunders its annual joyous return; that he is blowing out the moral lights around us, when he contends that whoever wants slaves has a right to hold them; that he is penetrating, so far as lies in his power, the human soul, and eradicating the light of reason and the love of liberty, when he is in every possible way preparing the public mind, by his vast influence, for making the institution of slavery perpetual and national.

The Galesburg meeting was the high-water mark of the debates. Both men had thoroughly learned each other's method and material, and each was certain of his own resources. The two discussions at Quincy and Alton, on Wednesday and Friday, October thirteenth and fifteenth, closed what proved to be an epoch-making campaign such as America never has witnessed before or since.

At every one of the places appointed, excepting only Jonesboro and Alton, the two southernmost points on the circuit, the crowds were vast. The largest, according to Horace White who reported the addresses, was at Galesburg. When Douglas began this campaign, his rich smooth voice was clear. In the closing addresses he was so hoarse that it was difficult for him to be heard. His flow of words was so continuous and unhesitating, his method of approach was so direct, and his personality was so pleasing, he was listened to with great satisfaction. Lincoln had a thin tenor voice that was almost a falsetto. It had good carrying power, and better wearing qualities than the rich baritone of Douglas, but it was not so pleasing or impressive. Audiences were uniformly impressed with the fact that the little man had the big voice, and the big man had the little voice. The grace and self-confidence of Douglas made all the more apparent the awkwardness of Lincoln, and the difficulty which he

sometimes encountered of getting his address under way. But when he had fairly got into his subject, Lincoln was no longer constrained or awkward. Not only was his great stature impressive, but there was a certain fine dignity in his vast proportions and a convincing quality in his method of argument.

In this campaign, the apathy, if not hostility, of Horace Greeley was a continued sorrow to Lincoln. His sorrow was increased as election approached, by tidings which reached Lincoln to the effect that John J. Crittenden, the venerable Kentucky Whig senator, was giving aid and comfort to Douglas. Lincoln could hardly credit this information. He wrote to Senator Crittenden and his worst fears were confirmed. Crittenden believed that Douglas had manifested in the Senate such an attitude of heroism in the matter of the Lecompton Constitution, that he ought to be reelected regardless of the effect of his election on the new Republican Party of Illinois. This was bad enough, but as yet it had not been made public. About a week before the election, T. Lyle Dickey, one of Lincoln's long-time friends, who, however, sympathized with the view of Greeley regarding Douglas, published a letter from Crittenden which he had been keeping for some time as an eleventh-hour document. This letter, frankly supporting Douglas, amazed Lincoln's friends. The *Journal* tried to explain it away, but some one telegraphed to Crittenden and he repudiated the *Journal's* explanation. He was frankly opposed to Lincoln. This was a last straw, and more than a straw. Lincoln believed that it was the determining factor in his defeat.*

Besides his several discussions with Douglas, Lincoln filled thirty-one appointments made for him by the State Committee; and he spoke at several other places not arranged for by the party managers. A few days before the end of the campaign, he returned to Springfield and was at home over the last week-

*Lincoln's letters to Crittenden are to be found in the various editions of Lincoln's writings; and those of Crittenden to Lincoln are in the *Life of John J. Crittenden*, by Mrs. Coleman, his daughter.

end. On the last Saturday before the election, Herndon wrote to Theodore Parker:

Springfield, Ill., October 30, 1858.

Friend:—To-day is Saturday and in a little while Mr. Lincoln opens on our square, close to the state-house, on the great, vital, and dominant issues of the day and age. We feel, as usual, full of enthusiasm and of hope, and there is nothing which can well defeat us but the elements, and the wandering, roving, robbing Irish, who have flooded over the State. This charge is no humbug cry: it is a real and solid and terrible reality, looking us right in the face, *with its thumb on its nose.* We, throughout the States have this question before us: "What shall we do? Shall we tamely submit to the Irish, or shall we rise and cut their throats?" If blood is shed in Illinois to maintain the purity of the ballot-box, and the rights of the popular will, do not be at all surprised. We are roused and fired to fury. My feelings are ideas to some extent and therefore cool—I try to persuade both parties to keep calm and cool, if possible; but let me say to you, that there is great and imminent danger of a general and terrible row, and if it commences woe be to the Irish—poor fellows!

You know my position now, and let me state to you that I am amidst the knowing ones, clubs, county committees, State committees, leaders, sagacious men, etc., and from all places and persons comes up this intelligence, "All is well." I, myself, fear and am scolded because I cannot feel as I should—as others do. My intuition—brute forecast, if you will—my bones, tell me that *all* is not safe; yet I hope for the best. How are you—are you up and walking about? Quit reading and writing, if you can, and go off on a spree.

Your friend,
W. H. Herndon.

Lincoln was one of several speakers at this Saturday meeting. He had been accustomed to speak without notes, or with very few notes, in the seven great joint meetings, but on this occasion he wrote carefully his brief address.* He must have known that

*It is probable that he spoke in part extemporaneously, but he wrote the portion that he considered of supreme importance.

in all probability the following Tuesday would see the election of representatives and state senators who would make certain the choice of Douglas as senator to succeed himself. Reviewing the campaign from the experience available at its close, Lincoln reaffirmed in the strongest possible terms his unalterable opposition to the extension of slavery. He said that he had prayed earnestly to God, and had chosen his position in a clear conviction of duty. He said that he had not intended in that campaign to speak harshly of any one, and if he had done so inadvertently or without being conscious of doing so, he was truly sorry. He said that he had been charged with being ambitious, and he did not deny the charge. But he affirmed that if he could be assured that the Missouri restriction would be re-enacted, and slavery put back into its historic position as an acknowledged evil, to be presently tolerated within its then present limits as a necessity, but to be opposed in confident hope of its ultimate extinction, he would gladly, in consideration, agree never to be a candidate for any office, nor to oppose the candidacy of Judge Douglas for any office, so long as either of them should live.

This last speech of Lincoln was never printed. It is in reality his "lost speech." Delivered on Saturday, it found no place in the *Journal* of Monday, for that paper was already well set with the last campaign material that could be printed before election.

In considering the words which Lincoln spoke on that occasion, we are to remember how bitter had been some of the charges against him, and how cruelly he believed himself to have been wounded in the house of his friends. T. Lyle Dickey, who procured the Crittenden letter and held it until just before election, was a personal and political friend. As for Senator Crittenden, Lincoln, speaking a year later in Cincinnati, told of Crittenden's letters written in the interest of Douglas, and which Lincoln believed defeated him, called him "a senator from Kentucky whom I have always loved with an affection as tender and

enduring as I have ever loved any man." Under these conditions, Lincoln's short address reveals a noble and lofty spirit. It is our privilege after sixty-five years to read the words which Lincoln spoke on that memorable day:*

My friends, to-day closes the discussions of this canvass. The planting and the culture are over; and there remains but the preparation, and the harvest.

I stand here surrounded by friends—some *political, all personal* friends, I trust. May I be indulged, in this closing scene, to say a few words of myself. I have borne a laborious, and, in some respects to myself, a painful part in the contest. Through all, I have neither assailed, nor wrestled with any part of the constitution. The legal right of the Southern people to reclaim their fugitives I have constantly admitted. The legal right of Congress to interfere with their institutions in the States, I have constantly denied. In resisting the spread of slavery to new territory, and with that, what appears to me to be a tendency to subvert the first principle of free government itself my whole effort has consisted. To the best of my judgment I have labored *for,* and not *against,* the Union. As I have not felt, so I have not expressed any harsh sentiment towards our Southern brethren. I have constantly declared, as I have really believed, the only difference between them and us, is the difference of circumstances.

I have meant to assail the motives of no party, or individual; and if I have, in any instance (of which I am not conscious) departed from my purpose, I regret it.

I have said that in some respects the contest has been painful to me. Myself, and those with whom I act, have been constantly accused of a purpose to destroy the Union; and bespattered with every imaginable odious epithet; and some who were friends, as it were but yesterday have made themselves most active in this. I have cultivated patience, and made no attempt at a retort.

Ambition has been ascribed to me. God knows how sincerely I prayed from the first that this field of ambition might not be opened. I claim no insensibility to political honors; but to-day could the Missouri restriction be restored, and the whole slavery

*For the courtesy of using this hitherto unknown but highly important address, I am indebted to the owner of the manuscript, my friend, Mr. Oliver R. Barrett, whose collection of Lincoln manuscripts, the most valuable in any private ownership, has been placed at my service.

question replaced on the old ground of "toleration" by *necessity* where it exists, with unyielding hostility to the spread of it, on principle, I would, in consideration, gladly agree, that Judge Douglas should never be *out,* and I never *in,* an office, so long as we both, or either, live.

These are not the words of a politician whose ethics are those of opportunism. They are the words of a noble statesman and an honest man. They are words that deserve to become as well known and as immortal as the best known and most cherished of the utterances of Lincoln.

Lincoln was defeated, but not badly so. The Legislature elected on Tuesday, November 2, 1858, gave Douglas fifty-four votes, to Lincoln's forty-six. A change of five legislative votes would have elected Lincoln. Indeed, he had a popular majority of over four thousand, and but for the bad apportionment law which then existed, would have defeated Douglas.

As Herndon had written to Theodore Parker just before the election, so he wrote again a few days after that event. The letter gives an analysis of the political situation as it then appeared to this hot-headed abolitionist friend of Lincoln:

Springfield, Ill., Nov. 8, 1858.

Friend Parker.

Dear Sir:—We are beaten in Illinois, as you are aware; but you may want to know the causes of our defeat. Firstly, then, I have more than once said our State presents three distinct phases of human development: the extreme north, the middle, and the extreme south. The first is intelligence, the second timidity, and the third ignorance on the special issue, but goodness and bravery. If a man spoke to suit the north—for freedom, justice—this killed him in the center and in the south. So in the center, it killed him north and south. So in the south, it surely killed him north. Lincoln tried to stand high and elevated, so he fell deep.

Secondly, Greeley never gave us one single, solitary, manly lift. On the contrary, his silence was his opposition. This our people felt. We never got a smile or a word of encouragement outside of Illinois from any quarter during all this great canvass.

The East was for Douglas *by silence*. This silence was terrible to us. Seward was against us too. Thirdly, Crittenden wrote letters to Illinois urging the Americans and Old Line Whigs to go for Douglas, and so they went "helter-skelter." Thousands of Whigs dropped us just on the eve of the election, through the influence of Crittenden.

Fourthly, all the pro-slavery men, north as well as south, went to a man for Douglas. They threw into this State money and men, and speakers. These forces and powers we were wholly denied by our Northern and Eastern friends. This cowed us somewhat, but let it go. Do you know what Byron says about revenge? He goes off in this wise: "There never was yet human power," etc. I shall make no hasty pledges, notwithstanding. I am bent on acting practically, so that I can help choke down slavery, and so I shall say nothing—not a word.

Fifthly, thousands of roving, robbing, bloated, pock-marked Catholic Irish were imported upon us from Philadelphia, New York, St. Louis, and other cities. I myself know of such, by their own confession. Some have been arrested, and are now in jail awaiting trial.

I want distinctly to say to *you* that no one of all of these causes defeated Lincoln; but I do want to say that it was the combination, with the power and influence of each, that "cleaned us out." Do you not *now* see that there is a conspiracy afloat which threatens the disorganization of the Republican party? Do you not see that Seward, Greeley, and Crittenden, etc., are at this moment in a joint common understanding to lower our platform?

In such conclusion let me say that as Douglas has got all classes to "boil his pot," with antagonistic materials and forces, that there is bound, by the laws of nature, to be an explosion—namely, somebody will be fooled. Look out! Greeley is a natural fool, I think, in this matter—his hearty Douglas position. So with Seward, Crittenden, with South and North. Douglas cannot hold all these places and men. Mark that! I am busy at Court and have no time to cut down or amplify—hope you can understand.

Your friend,

W. H. Herndon.

Lincoln was not greatly surprised when Douglas was elected. He had foreseen the result, but he had a kind of abiding faith

that his own defeat brought ultimate success nearer, and he was right. The debates were printed in full, and eagerly read throughout the country. They served as the best popular interpretation of the issue between the two parties. They made it more certain than the wisest man could have understood in 1858, that Douglas and his party could not forever stand on the platform which he had laid down in that campaign. Lincoln wrote a few days after his defeat:

Douglas had the ingenuity to be supported in the late contest both as the best means to break down and uphold the slave interest. No ingenuity can keep these antagonistic elements in harmony long. Another explosion will soon occur.

Election day was dark and rainy. That night Lincoln remained in the telegraph office with a group of friends until the returns came in that indicated his defeat. Then he walked home alone in the dark and rain. November 7, 1864, was another such a day; and in the evening a small group gathered in the White House and listened to the returns that told of Lincoln's triumphant reelection to the presidency. The company was small, for Washington had been depopulated by those who had gone home to vote. Recalling that former election night in 1858, with the weather similar but other conditions quite different, Lincoln told his friends his recollections of that evening, and John Hay recorded it in his diary:

"For such an awkward fellow," said Lincoln, "I am pretty sure-footed. It used to take a pretty dexterous man to throw me. I remember the evening of the day in 1858 that decided the contest for the Senate between Mr. Douglas and myself, was something like this, dark, rainy and gloomy. I had been reading the returns, and had ascertained that we had lost the Legislature, and I started to go home. The path had been worn pig-backed and was slippery. My foot slipped from under me, knocking the other out of the way; but I recovered and said to myself, *'It's a slip and not a fall!'*"

CHAPTER XXVII

LINCOLN THE RAILSPLITTER
1860

LITTLE did Abraham Lincoln realize when he was splitting rails to fence his father's first farm in Illinois, or to pay for a pair of homespun trousers, or to earn a few dollars from Major Warnick with the possible added advantage of seeing the major's daughter Polly, that he would see those same rails or any of them thirty years afterward, borne in triumphal procession as evidence of his fitness for the presidency of the United States.

Lincoln returned to Springfield after his defeat at the hands of Douglas, disappointed but not completely discouraged. If anything could have disheartened him, it would not have been the defeat, but the fact that the campaign had been a severe strain upon him financially. At that time he owned a house and lot, a small and unremunerative tract of land in Iowa acquired by him from the government in recognition of his military service in the Black Hawk War, and a law practise from which his annual income did not exceed three thousand dollars. For six months he had earned practically nothing while he was giving his time to the campaign against Douglas. The total value of his property as estimated by Mr. Arnold may have been ten or twelve thousand dollars. When he returned to Springfield he received a request from the Republican State Committee that he make a personal contribution toward the expense of the campaign. Lincoln wrote to his friend Norman B. Judd:

I have been on expenses so long, without earning anything, that I am absolutely without money now even for household expenses. Still, if you can put in $250 for me towards discharg-

ing the debt of the committee, I will allow it when you and I settle the private matter between us. This, with what I have already paid, with an outstanding note of mine, will exceed my subscription of $500. This, too, exclusive of my ordinary expenses during the campaign, all of which, being added to my loss of time and business, bears pretty heavily upon one no better off in this world's goods than I. But as I had the post of honor, it is not for me to be over nice.

Lincoln paid his share of the campaign expense, and went back to his law practise; but he was now a national figure, and one certain to play an important part in the political life of the country.

Lincoln then had some thought of entering the lecture field. He prepared a lecture on "Discoveries and Inventions," and delivered it in a few towns in Illinois, but it won him no great renown, and he soon gave up the lecture field. During the autumn of 1859, Douglas was delivering political addresses in Ohio, and Lincoln accepted an invitation to speak in Cincinnati and Columbus, in each place following Douglas. This short tour added to his fame. It also brought to him a gratifying offer from a Columbus firm to print his speeches with those of Douglas, delivered in the memorable debate. This was the more gratifying to Lincoln because he himself had made some effort to get those speeches published in Springfield, and had not been able to secure a publisher.

On Sunday night, October 16, 1859, John Brown, who had stood resolutely for freedom in Kansas, endeavored to bring in the kingdom of Heaven by violence. With a small body of armed men he seized the United States arsenal at Harper's Ferry, on the Potomac River, in Virginia. He believed that if the slaves were given a leader and an opportunity of freedom, they would rise and throw off the yoke of oppression. The slaves exhibited no favorable response to John Brown's attempt to free them. Brown's insurrection was speedily put down by United States troops. Several of his followers, including two of his

sons, were killed. Brown himself was severely wounded and captured. He was tried by the Virginia courts, condemned and on December 2, 1859, was hanged. The slave-holding South was terribly agitated by his insurrection, believing that virtually the whole North was endeavoring to incite the slaves to bloody insurrection. In the North, Brown's futile effort was regarded for the most part with disapproval for its unwisdom and its violation of law; but it stirred the admiration of many thousands who honored the heroism of a deed they could not wholly approve; and it quite certainly brought nearer the day when the whole country would have to face the irrepressible conflict between slavery and freedom.

In the winter of 1859 Lincoln visited Kansas. There he was received with marked evidence of popular favor. The free state of Kansas realized that it owed to Lincoln not a little for its freedom. He spoke at Atchison, Troy, Leavenworth and other towns. His speeches were essentially a repetition of the arguments which he had used in his debate with Douglas, and he could not have found better material for his speeches in Kansas, nor audiences more in sympathy.

Lincoln was careful not to take the side of John Brown in his armed attack upon the government; but he warned the men upon the other side, who had hanged Brown, that if they made violent attack upon the nation, as a protest against the election of a candidate whom they did not like, they might expect a like result.

What Lincoln thought about Brown was carefully written and stated in his Cooper-Union address a few weeks later:

> John Brown's effort was peculiar. It was not a slave insurrection. It was an attempt by white men to get up a revolt among slaves, in which the slaves refused to participate. In fact, it was so absurd that the slaves, with all their ignorance, saw plainly enough it could not succeed. That affair, in its philosophy, corresponds with the many attempts related in history, at the assassination of kings and emperors. An enthusiast broods over the oppression of the people till he fancies himself com-

missioned by Heaven to liberate them. He ventures the attempt, which ends in little else than his own execution. Orsini's attempt on Louis Napoleon and John Brown's attempt at Harper's Ferry were, in their philosophy, precisely the same. The eagerness to cast blame on old England in the one case, and on New England in the other, does not disprove the sameness of the two things.

Just after the John Brown raid another event occurred which had wide influence, the publication of *The Impending Crisis*, by Hinton Rowan Helper, of North Carolina. Helper was a southern man in his birth and sympathy, but he was opposed to slavery. His book was a forceful declaration that slavery was a bad thing for the white man. Especially did he make his argument on the basis of the welfare of the non-slaveholding whites in the South, whose labor was degraded by competition with slave labor. This was a thrust between the joints of the armor. The slaveholders had no answer to it. They could hang John Brown, and exclude Garrison's *Liberator* from the mails, and denounce *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* but there was no like way of disposing of the *Impending Crisis.* It was easy to raise the cry of "social equality" and to pour contempt upon the northern abolitionist "who thought that the chief end of man was nigger," but when a southern man advanced the argument that slavery degraded the white man, no such reply was possible. Attempts were made to prevent the sale of the book in the South, but there was no very good ground on which this could be done. No one could claim that it incited the slaves to insurrection; it did not profess greatly to care for the slaves. No one could pretend that it was a morbid attempt to make the black man the white man's equal; it was simply an endeavor to remove an artificial and corrupting inequality between white men. The book was denounced, but it was read, and next to *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* it helped to bring an end to slavery in the United States.

In the latter part of 1859 the name of Lincoln came to be prominently mentioned as that of an available candidate for the presidency of the United States. Lincoln met the first sugges-

tions of this character with deprecation. He said that he did not think he was fit for the presidency, or that there was any possibility of his being nominated. Still the idea was pleasing to him. When in December, 1859, Mr. Jesse W. Fell, Secretary of the Republican Central Committee, asked Lincoln for a brief biographical sketch which might be used to further his interests, Lincoln demurred, but furnished the sketch written on three pages of paper. Quietly but steadily his reputation grew, and as the year 1860 brought the presidential election nearer, there was more frequent mention of Abraham Lincoln as a candidate.

Plymouth Church, Brooklyn, conducted a lecture course. In the autumn of 1859 Lincoln was invited to deliver a lecture there. He had tried out his *Discoveries and Inventions* on Illinois audiences, and was not satisfied with it. He replied accepting the invitation, provided he might be at liberty to deliver a political address, if he could not find time to prepare another. This condition was accepted; but in negotiations between the Plymouth Church lecture committee and The Young Men's Central Republican Union of New York City, the place and management were changed. Lincoln did not clearly understand the change, but went east still expecting to speak in Plymouth Church. A larger opportunity even than that which Henry Ward Beecher could have given him in Brooklyn, awaited the arrival of Lincoln in New York. He attended Plymouth Church on Sunday, heard Beecher preach, and learned the details of the modified plan.

On Monday evening, February 27, 1860, Mr. Lincoln delivered what was in some respects the greatest of his political orations. He spoke at Cooper Institute, in the City of New York. Horace Greeley, who in 1858 had advised the Illinois Republicans not to oppose Douglas in his canvass for reelection to the Senate, heard Lincoln's address, and said, "No man has been welcomed by such an audience of the intellect and mental culture of our city since the days of Clay and Webster."

William Cullen Bryant presided. With him on the platform

were some of the foremost men of New York. Lincoln delivered an address devoid of all the characteristics of stump oratory. It was a carefully reasoned, thoughtful discourse, addressed to the intelligence and conscience of his hearers. He surprised his audience by his knowledge of American political history and the principles underlying our national legislation. Lincoln obtained most of the facts of his Cooper Institute speech from Elliot's *Debates on the Federal Constitution.* It is said that when the speech was edited in New York for publication, those who prepared the address for printing spent three weeks in verifying its historical statements, and that they found no important errors. This may be an exaggeration as to the length of time expended, but it clearly indicates that Lincoln had prepared his address with great deliberation and care. He never had given to any other discourse so much of thoughtful preparation as he gave to this one.

The Cooper Institute address was printed in the papers the next day,* and afterward issued in pamphlet form and read throughout the country. It had much to do with Lincoln's nomination for the presidency.

Robert T. Lincoln is a very reticent man, and for the most part declines to speak for publication concerning his father; but one thing he modestly affirms, which is that he made his father president. In the autumn of 1859, Robert went to Cambridge expecting to enter Harvard. He was required to submit to an entrance examination covering sixteen subjects, and he failed in fifteen of them. The Lincoln family wrote him not to return home, but to enter Phillips Academy at Exeter, New Hampshire, and complete his preparation. This he did, and at the end of a year was able to enter Harvard and complete a regular course. But Mr. Lincoln was somewhat anxious about Robert's studies, and one of his reasons for being ready to visit New York and

*It was not telegraphed to Chicago, but was reprinted in the Chicago papers three days later as set from the copy furnished by the columns of the New York papers.

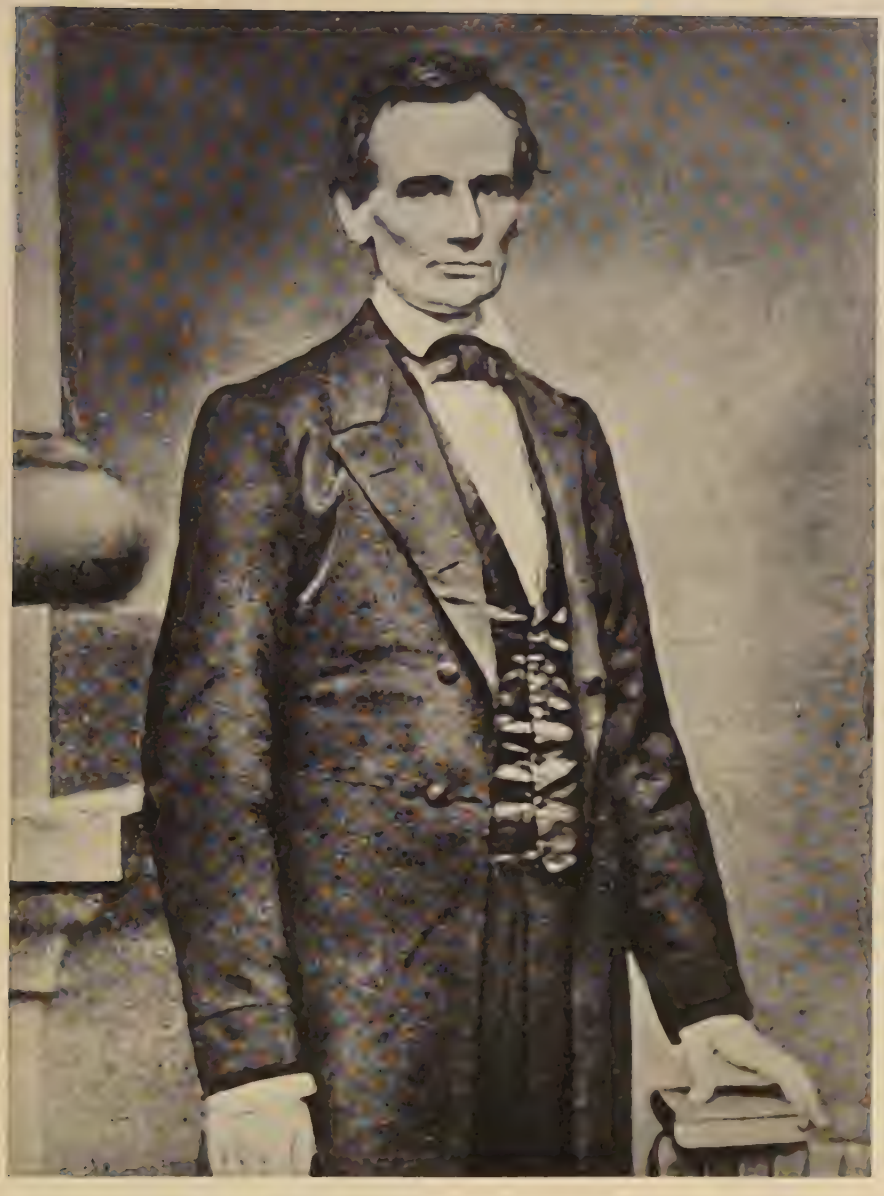
speak at Cooper Institute was to visit Robert and see how he was getting on at Exeter. Robert T. Lincoln believes that if he had failed in less than fifteen studies his father might have been less solicitous, and might not have delivered the Cooper Union speech, or having delivered it, might have returned from New York direct to Springfield. As it was, he determined to visit Robert and make a few speeches in New England.

Only once, and then a dozen years before, had Lincoln visited New England. Then he was speaking for Zachary Taylor, and exhorting Whig voters to stand by the old party. Now he was an earnest advocate of the new party.

Lincoln's address at Cooper Union was delivered on Monday evening, February 27, 1860. On Tuesday evening, February twenty-eighth, he spoke before a large audience in Railroad Hall, Providence, Rhode Island. On the following day, Wednesday, February twenty-ninth, he was on his way to New Hampshire, and did not speak. On Thursday, March first, he spoke at Concord, New Hampshire, in the afternoon, and at Manchester in the evening. At Concord he was introduced by Governor Frederick Smith, who referred to him as "the next president of the United States." Such an introduction was exceptional. At Norwich, Connecticut, where he spoke later, Honorable Daniel P. Tyler, who spoke before Lincoln, went the full length of the general imagination and suggested that Lincoln might be the next vice-president; beyond doubt, he had Seward in mind as the head of the ticket. On Friday, March second, Lincoln spoke at Dover, New Hampshire. On Saturday he spoke at Exeter, and spent Sunday with Robert.

Biographers of Lincoln have not considered adequately the effect of these New England speeches. Several of these authors, beginning with Lamon, state that Robert was in Harvard at that time; he did not enter Harvard until seven months later, and if he had been safe in Harvard, the tour might not have been made.

On Monday, March fifth, Lincoln spoke at Hartford, Connecticut; on Tuesday he spoke in New Haven, on Wednesday at



ABRAHAM LINCOLN IN 1860
Photograph by Brady at the time of the Cooper Union Address

Meriden, Connecticut; on Thursday at Woonsocket, Rhode Island; on Friday at Norwich, Connecticut; on Saturday at Bridgeport, Connecticut. In all, he delivered eleven speeches. He had large audiences everywhere. The spring elections were just at hand, and it is certain that his addresses had value, especially in Connecticut, where Governor Buckingham, the Republican candidate and a firm friend of Lincoln, was elected by a plurality of only 451. If Lincoln's addresses changed as many as 220 votes, his work was not in vain.

It was on this trip that he was interviewed by Reverend J. P. Gulliver, to whom Lincoln told of his learning to "demonstrate" his propositions. It was at Hartford, that Lincoln first met the "Wide-Awake" organization, with torchlights and oilcloth capes. The name originated in that city, though it is popularly believed to have been of western origin. In months that followed, Lincoln was to hear processions singing, to an old camp-meeting air that the Confederates later confiscated to celebrate the joys of those who "jine the cavalry":

"Old Abe Lincoln came out of the wilderness,
Out of the wilderness, out of the wilderness,
Old Abe Lincoln came out of the wilderness,
Down in Illinois."

"Ain't I glad I jined the Wide-Awakes,
Jined the Wide-Awakes, jined the Wide-Awakes,
Ain't I glad I jined the Wide-Awakes,
Down in Illinois!"*

These New England addresses did much for Lincoln. They helped to give voice to a more conservative type of Republican

*A few months before America entered the World War, there was a Preparedness Parade in Chicago, with a large reviewing stand on Michigan Boulevard in front of the Art Institute. As I was on my way to the reviewing stand, I encountered an old man with an oilcloth cap and cape "the same that I wore in 1860, sir, when I marched for Abe Lincoln!" In an interval between the noise of passing brass bands, he lifted his cracked old voice, and sang, "Ain't I glad I jined the Wide-Awakes?" Perhaps this was the last appearance of a representative of that body on any important occasion in any American city.

doctrine than that associated with the thought of John Brown and Helper of the *Impending Crisis* while standing squarely for a nation that was not to be permanently divided by slavery.

When Lincoln returned to Springfield after the Cooper Institute speech and the New England town he knew that there was a possibility of his nomination as president. Seward was the most likely nominee; Chase was next; but strange things happen in politics, and Lincoln knew that Seward and Chase and the other leading candidates might kill each other off and leave him as the most available candidate. Herndon wrote:

It was apparent now to Lincoln that the presidential nomination was within his reach. He began gradually to lose his interest in the law and to trim his political sails at the same time. His recent success had stimulated his self-confidence to unwonted proportions. He wrote to influential party workers everywhere. I know the idea prevails that Lincoln sat still in his chair in Springfield, and that one of those unlooked-for tides in human affairs came along and cast the nomination into his lap; but any man who has had experience in such things knows that great political prizes are not obtained in that way. The truth is, Lincoln was as vigilant as he was ambitious, and there is no denying the fact that he understood the situation perfectly from the start. In the management of his own interests he was obliged to rely almost entirely on his own resources. He had no money with which to maintain a political bureau and he lacked any kind of personal organization whatever. Seward had all these things, and, behind them all, a brilliant record in the United States Senate with which to dazzle his followers. But with all his prestige and experience the latter was no more adroit and no more untiring in pursuit of his ambition than the man who had just delivered the Cooper Institute speech.

The Republican State Convention was held at Decatur May 9 and 10, 1860. Lincoln as a Whig politician had been very reluctant to accept the method of a nominating convention. He preferred the popular scramble. But he learned, what the Whig Party learned too late, that if they were to succeed against the

Democrats they must iron out their differences in conventions of their own, and not go to the polls with a divided vote. Long before 1860 Lincoln was thoroughly committed to the principle of the party convention, and he looked forward to his own state convention with no little solicitude and hope. He wrote to Norman B. Judd:

I am not in a position where it would hurt much for me to not be nominated on the national ticket, but I am where it would hurt some for me to not get the Illinois delegates. Can you help me a little in your end of the vineyard?

It was in Judd's end of the vineyard that Lincoln needed help, for the northern end of Illinois was the old Whig end of the state, and was strong for Seward. But Judd did something very much more important than that of swinging a few delegates in northern Illinois from Seward to Lincoln. He so managed, as a member of the Republican National Committee, as to secure the Republican Convention for the City of Chicago.

When, therefore, the State Convention was held in Decatur on May ninth and tenth, it was with the knowledge that the National Convention would be held in the same state less than a week later.

Lincoln was not without influential friends in the northern end of Illinois. On February 6, 1860, the *Chicago Tribune* came out editorially for Lincoln. A number of other Illinois papers beginning with one in Rock Island, and largely representative of the northern end of Illinois, had already endorsed Lincoln, or soon did so. The campaign of publicity was well planned and actively pursued.

Lincoln attended the Republican Convention at Decatur. Some of his friends questioned the wisdom of his going there. Lincoln himself said that he felt that he was "too much of a candidate to go and not quite enough of a candidate to stay away."

Lincoln's friends were confident of securing his nomination in Illinois. But they wanted to do more than this. They de-

sired to stage for him a great demonstration. Lincoln's friend, Richard J. Oglesby, afterward governor of the state, was a resident of Decatur. A brilliant idea occurred to him. He had heard that only a little distance from Decatur Abraham Lincoln had split fence rails in the early days of his residence in Illinois. Old John Hanks, who had worked with Lincoln, still lived in that vicinity. Oglesby himself interviewed John and later told the story, and it is the best account we have of the introduction into the Decatur convention and into national politics of the rails that Abraham Lincoln split.

Oglesby took John Hanks in his buggy ten miles west of Decatur to the site of Abraham Lincoln's first Illinois farm. They found what appeared to be the old fence still in service after thirty years. John said that the rails were principally locust and black walnut and testing some of them with his pocket-knife, he assured Oglesby and himself of their genuineness. Two of these rails they carried away with them, fastening them to the axles of the buggy and carrying them back to Decatur where for several days they were hidden in Oglesby's barn.

At an important moment in the convention, Oglesby rose and announced that an old Democrat desired to make a contribution to the convention. The proceedings stopped, and in came John Hanks, who, with such assistance as was required, brought in two rails from the lot which he and Lincoln split together in 1830. They bore a legend:

> Abraham Lincoln
> The Rail Candidate
> For President in 1860.

The convention went wild. No delegate could doubt after that exhibition that Lincoln was the best man in the United States for president. The Illinois State Republican Convention went

on record for Abraham Lincoln. Seward no longer had standing with the state delegates of Illinois.

The effect upon the country was hardly less picturesque than that upon the Decatur Convention. The name and fame of Abraham Lincoln were borne aloft on the rails which he had split while a laborer in the Prairie State. John Hanks became notable in Illinois political gatherings. He accompanied Oglesby on various expeditions. The bringing in of the rail was a feature in several ratification meetings; John C. Frémont rode a considerable distance toward the White House on his sobriquet of "Pathfinder." Abraham Lincoln was destined to go down to fame as "Railsplitter."

CHAPTER XXVIII

LINCOLN AS A NEWSPAPER OWNER

LINCOLN'S intimate association with Simeon Francis had given him constant reminder of the power of the press. Lincoln wrote many of the editorials on political subjects. Lincoln knew that the organization of the Republican Party in Illinois was virtually the work of twenty-five editors. As Lincoln grew in political power his appreciation of the press increased. Herndon assures us that Lincoln never overlooked a newspaper man who could say a good or bad word about him. He was very eager to see his speeches in print, and he read newspapers with sedulous attention to their value for his uses.*

As the campaign of 1860 approached, Lincoln became very desirous of holding to the Republican Party every considerable block of votes which might be held or attracted to it. He was especially solicitous concerning the foreign vote.

In the later 'forties and early 'fifties there was a large increase in immigration. Political revolutions on the Continent, economic distress in Ireland, and other untoward conditions abroad constituted a strong push, and the discovery of gold in California, together with unprecedented activity on the part of emigrant agents in Europe resulted in the coming of vast numbers of Europeans, especially Germans and Irish. The immigration from 1851 to 1854 more than trebled the numbers who had come to this country in the entire preceding decade.

These immigrants caused congestion in the cities, where they greatly complicated the labor problem, and roused much resent-

*Herndon's *Lincoln*, ii, pp. 309, 363, 367.

ment. Some firms were constrained to hang out the sign, "No Irish need apply." There were unfriendly demonstrations toward "the Dutch" in the industrial world.

In politics they occasioned another problem. The laws of many of the states were framed so as to permit voting by immigrants at a very early period of residence and before naturalization. These immigrants were to be reckoned with in politics almost as soon as they arrived. They voted "early and often." They voted in solid blocks. Both parties bid for their vote, but the Democratic Party went farther after this vote than the Whig, and got more of it.

The era was one of religious unrest, and there was strong belief that the Roman Catholic Church aspired to gain political control in the United States.

In 1850 Illinois contained about 30,000 Germans. Of these Governor Reynolds estimated that fully 18,000 had settled in St. Clair County. At the outset, most of the Germans were Democrats; but on the organization of the Republican Party, many of them united with that party on account of its opposition to slavery. Gustav Koerner and other Democrats of German birth but anti-slavery principles came over in large numbers to the Republican Party.*

Gustav Koerner had appeared with Lyman Trumbull in 1843 before the Supreme Court of Illinois in an argument in the case of a negro woman, Sarah Borders and her three children, held under the indenture act, and had claimed that slavery in Illinois

*Gustav Koerner was born in Germany in 1809, and received a university education. He emigrated to Illinois in 1833, and settled at Belleville, where he became an intimate friend of Lyman Trumbull. He became a prominent Democratic politician. He was elected to the General Assembly in 1842, and three years later, in 1845, was appointed to the Illinois Supreme Bench. In 1852 he was elected lieutenant governor on the Democratic ticket with Governor Matteson. At the close of his term he became a Republican. He was a member of the convention that nominated Lincoln, and became a colonel in the Civil War. In 1862, President Lincoln appointed him minister to Spain, a post which he resigned in 1865. He held various offices, and wrote several works. He died at Belleville, April 9, 1896.

was illegal under the Ordinance of 1787.* The court ruled against them. Trumbull, later, in the case of *Jarrot vs. Jarrot,* appeared before the Supreme Court with the same plea, and his success virtually ended negro slavery in Illinois.

In 1854, when party cohesion had been weakened by the slavery agitation, and the Whig Party was disintegrating, there rose to national proportions a political party whose name was "the American Party," but which was organized in a group of lodges, and was known popularly as the "Know-Nothing Party."†

Many of Lincoln's Whig friends joined this party, among them his former partner, Judge Stephen T. Logan, and his friend, Doctor William Jayne.‡ Many reputable men who did not join its lodges believed in its principle of "America for the Americans." In 1854 it became a power in politics, and in 1856 it held a national convention in Philadelphia, Washington's birthday, February twenty-second, and nominated Millard Fillmore and Andrew Jackson Donelson as its candidates.†† The remnants of the Whig Party, meeting in national convention in Baltimore, September 12, 1856, endorsed the nomination.

But the Northern Whigs, for the most part, in 1856 joined the new Republican Party and voted for John C. Frémont; and Fillmore did not return to the White House.‡‡ The Whig Party went down and completely disappeared. Of it and the American Party which for a time appeared as its successor, Griffis says:

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*Harris, *Negro Servitude in Illinois,* p. 108; White, *Life of Lyman Trumbull,* pp. 28-29.

†See *The Know-Nothing Movement in Illinois,* by John P. Henning. *Journal of the Illinois Historical Society,* April, 1914.

‡In the courthouse at Dixon is a life-sized oil painting of "Father" John Dixon. He stands in the portrait with his right hand partly within his coat; the index and little fingers on the outside of the flap, the two middle fingers inside. This is explained as being the hailing sign of the Know-Nothings, with which body Father Dixon was affiliated.

††See *Life of Millard Fillmore,* by William Elliot Griffis, Andrus and Church, Ithaca, N. Y., 1915.

‡‡Fillmore received 874,534 votes, or 21.57%; Fremont, 1,342,264, or 33.09%; and Buchanan 1,838,169 votes or 45.34%.

The Whig Party, now dead for ever, had done its work. It had had its own office to perform. In its members, rather than in its leaders, was preserved most of the nationalizing spirit of the United States. In a word, while the people of the various states were not yet ready for true nationality, the preparatory work in behalf of the final consummation was crudely but effectively done for the making of the United States of our day. . . . Know-nothingism, as described by its critics and opponents, with its "riotous career," was a sudden tornado of opinion, blowing from an independent quarter across the field of the regular parties and for a little while confusing their lines. When civil war was impending in 1860, it was as the flicker of a dying flame, that under the name of the Constitutional Union Party, some ex-members of the old Whig Party, in the border states, nominated John Bell and Edward Everett for president and vice-president.*

In Massachusetts a constitutional amendment was proposed, requiring of foreign-born citizens a residence of seven years in the United States before they were permitted to vote. They might be naturalized at the end of five years, but were not to be permitted to vote for two years after naturalization. This amendment was submitted to popular referendum May 9, 1859. The vote was light, 21,119 for and 15,398 against the amendment. The total vote was only about one-fourth that cast in the presidential election of 1856, but the majority was decisive. The Republicans of Massachusetts in general supported the amendment. Among those who opposed it was S. G. Bowles, of the *Springfield Republican,* of which paper Doctor J. G. Holland was at that time an associate editor. Among all of Lincoln's biographers he is the only one who appears to have appreciated the difficulty which this action involved for Mr. Lincoln. He says:

It is to be remembered in this connection that Massachusetts was a representative Republican state, and regarding the ignorant foreign population, particularly of the eastern states as hold-

**Life of Millard Fillmore,* p. 137.

ing the balance of power between the Democratic and Republican parties, which it never failed to exercise in the interest of the former and in support of African slavery, had instituted measures which rendered naturalization a more difficult process. This embarrassed the Republicans of the west, who were associated with a large and generally intelligent German population with leanings toward the Republican Party rather than to the Democratic.*

The Germans of Iowa and Illinois were loud in their denunciation of the "Two-Year Amendment" and promptly demanded of all prominent Republicans whether this represented their sentiments. It threw the Republican candidates in states having foreign populations into something approaching a panic.†

Prominent Republican leaders in Illinois were quick to make it known that they did not share the views of the Republicans of Massachusetts. In open letters addressed to different leading Germans, Elihu B. Washburne, Lyman Trumbull, Norman B. Judd and other Republican leaders promptly sent in their letters of disavowal. Abraham Lincoln furnished his letter to Doctor Theodore Canisius, of Springfield, and it was published at once in the *Illinois State Journal,* a paper devoted to Lincoln's interests.‡

Lincoln's letter was carefully written. It refrained from any criticism of the Republicans of Massachusetts. It said that Massachusetts was a sovereign state, and he did not regard it as his privilege to scold her, but he did feel free to state how he stood with reference to such action as that of Massachusetts in any state where he had the right to vote:

As I understand the Massachusetts provision, I am against its adoption in Illinois, or in any other place where I have the

**Life of Lincoln,* p. 197.

†See a very interesting monograph on *The Premises and Significance of Abraham Lincoln's Letter to Theodore Canisius,* by Professor F. I. Herriott of Drake University. Reprinted from *Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschitsblatter Jahrbuch der Deutsch-Amerikanische Historischen Gesellschaft von Illinois-Jahrgang,* 1915 (Vol. XV).

‡The original manuscript of Lincoln's letter is in the library of the Chicago Historical Society.

right to oppose it. Understanding the spirit of our institutions to aim at the elevation of men, I am opposed to whatever tends to degrade them. I have some little notoriety for commiserating the oppressed condition of the negro; and I should be strangely inconsistent if I should favor any project for curtailing the existing rights of white men, even though born in different lands and speaking different languages from myself.*

This letter was dated May 17, 1859, and on the same date was furnished by Canisius for publication in the *Journal* with a letter which stated that:

This letter of one of the gallant champions of our state is in accordance with the views of the whole German population, supporting the Republican Party, and also with the views of the entire German-Republican press.

The *Journal* published these on the following day, incorporating them in a leading editorial, declaring that Mr. Lincoln's views were the views of the Republican Party.

So far as the general public knew, or has since been informed, that was all that there was of the story of Lincoln's attitude toward the German vote. It was not unknown, however, that Doctor Theodore Canisius became a very ardent supporter of the Republican Party and later of Mr. Lincoln. Canisius was editor of a then recently established paper, *The Illinois*

*Honorable Joseph Gillespie is authority for the statement that Lincoln was surprisingly popular among the Germans:

"In 1858 Mr. Lincoln delivered a political address in Edwardsville. In the afternoon he said to me quite excitedly that he was to speak next day in Greenville and had forgotten to mention it sooner. I told him I would take him over to Greenville, but that he could go only as far as Highland that night. He seemed delighted with the idea of stopping in Highland, as he understood the place was a little Germany. We stopped there and had a good time. It was soon noised around that Lincoln was in the place and the house where we were stopping was crowded and jammed. The people were perfectly enraptured; the bare sight of the man threw them into ecstasies. I here got the first inkling of the amazing popularity of Mr. Lincoln among the Germans. I could see that there was some magnetic influence at work that was perfectly inexplicable, which brought him and the masses into a mysterious correspondence with each other. This relation increased and was intensified to such an extent that afterward at Springfield I witnessed a manifestation of regard for Mr. Lincoln such as I did not believe possible." *Transactions of Illinois State Historical Society for 1912*, p. 108.

Staats-Anzeiger. That paper began immediately a vigorous campaign for the support of the Republican Party, and in due season came out strongly for Lincoln as the Republican nominee.

The following facts, however, the public did not know and they are of interest and importance. Doctor Canisius was in financial straits. He owed his landlord, John Burkhardt for rent and perhaps also for money advanced. Burkhardt had acquired, under chattel mortgage or otherwise, a title to the property of the newspaper. Lincoln through Canisius purchased Burkhardt's title and became the owner of the *Staats-Anzeiger.* The transaction occurred immediately after the incident of Lincoln's letter to Canisius, which letter was evoked by an inquiry from a Committee of German citizens in Springfield.

Lincoln had learned the value of the press. He was a constant contributor to the columns of the *Journal,* many of his contributions appearing as editorials. The plan for the propagation of his nomination was in a large sense a plan to use the newspapers of Illinois. Lincoln knew that while the *Chicago Tribune* and many of the down-state papers were committed to him, the chief German paper in Illinois, the *Chicago Staats-Zeitung,* was for Seward. He knew that it would advance his interests if a well-edited German newspaper could be depended upon to stand for the Republican Party first, and in due time to announce itself for Lincoln.

On May 30, 1859, a contract wholly in Lincoln's handwriting, was drawn up by Lincoln and signed by himself and Theodore Canisius. In the agreement it was stated that the type and other equipment were the property of Lincoln, by virtue of Lincoln's purchase of the same from Burkhardt. Canisius was granted the free use of this property for the publication of a German newspaper, which was strongly to support the Republican Party. If the paper failed thus to support the Republican Party, Lincoln, as owner, was authorized to take possession and dispossess Canisius. It was stipulated also that the paper, while published in German, should carry occasional articles in English.

The contract was written on the two sides of a single sheet of legal cap, and the second page was only partly filled. On December 6, 1860, a month after Lincoln's election as president, he wrote a supplementary endorsement, filling the blank space. Therein he certified that Doctor Theodore Canisius had faithfully fulfilled the obligations of the contract and satisfied all financial claims of Lincoln, who therefore, for a valid consideration, conveyed the type, paper and good will to Canisius.

Canisius had to borrow his four hundred dollars with which to repay Lincoln. He obtained it from Charles F. Herman, a prominent German in Springfield, who at that time was freight agent of the Wabash Railroad and a somewhat near neighbor of Lincoln. Canisius gave Herman his note for four hundred dollars, with this contract as collateral. The daughters of Mr. Herman* state that the note remained and still remains unpaid.

This ended Abraham Lincoln's ownership of a German newspaper. It was his property for eighteen months from May 30, 1859, to December 6, 1860. It did not continue long after his election. Lincoln speedily gave Doctor Canisius a consulate in Samoa, and Canisius continued in the consular service of the United States at various posts from 1861 to 1885.

The relation between Lincoln and Canisius was not, however, wholly commercial. Lincoln knew Canisius and held him in high regard and Canisius was a warm admirer of Lincoln. His paper adopted no change in principle when Lincoln became its owner. The principles of its editor were in full accord with those of Lincoln.

Arnold relates an incident concerning a German editor whom Lincoln caused to be appointed to a diplomatic position. He said:

In the early part of Lincoln's administration, a prominent editor of a German newspaper published in the West, came to Washington to seek an appointment abroad. With the member

*I am indebted to these ladies for this first publication of the facts concerning Lincoln's one investment in a newspaper.

of Congress from his district, he visited the "Executive Mansion," and his wishes were stated. The editor had supported Mr. Seward for nomination as president. Mr. Lincoln immediately sent a messenger to the secretary of state, asking him to come to the White House. Mr. Seward soon arrived, and Lincoln, after a cordial greeting, said: "Seward, here is a gentleman (introducing the editor) who had the good sense to prefer you to me for president. He wants to go abroad, and I want you to find a good place for him." This Mr. Seward did, and the president immediately appointed him.*

This may refer to Doctor Theodore Canisius,† of Springfield. If this be true, it is interesting to learn from this authoritative source that Canisius had at first preferred Seward to Lincoln as a presidential candidate and this is wholly probable. Presumably Lincoln had not at that time emerged into sufficient prominence to be regarded by Canisius as a candidate who could command the German vote throughout the nation. The files of the paper edited by Doctor Canisius are not known to be in existence, and it would not be wise to dogmatize concerning the editorial policy of the paper after Lincoln became its owner. It would not be unreasonable to infer, however, that Doctor Canisius and his paper did not from that time forth press Seward's claim to the extent of violent opposition to Lincoln; and certainly after Lincoln's nomination the paper gave him undivided support.

The admiration of Canisius for Lincoln continued through his life. He wrote a biography of Lincoln in German and it ran through several editions, which were published in different cities of Europe. It was based upon his personal knowledge of Lincoln and was a sincere and worthy tribute by one of Lincoln's own neighbors, and expressed the sentiments of that large body of citizens of foreign birth who held Lincoln in high regard.

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*Arnold: *Life of Lincoln*, pp. 194-195.

†It is barely possible that the editor mentioned was Colonel Schneider, of the *Staats-Zeitung*.

CHAPTER XXIX

THE NOMINATION OF LINCOLN
May, 1860

THE convention that nominated Lincoln was the first to meet in a building erected especially for its own requirements. No American city at that time had a permanent structure known as a convention hall, or one intended for the particular use of great national gatherings. Up to that time in every city entertaining a national convention a theater or other hall, erected for local purposes, had been found sufficiently large to house any convention that was held within that municipality. When Chicago invited the Republican convention of 1860, it was with the knowledge that it would be necessary for the city to erect a building adequately to care for the gathering.

If we were to depend entirely upon the press reports concerning "this gigantic structure, the largest audience-room in the United States," as the newspapers of the time truthfully described it, we might possibly exaggerate in our own minds the largeness of the building. If, for instance, it were to be compared with the Coliseum in which the Chicago conventions of recent years have been held, we should discover that the old Wigwam could have been lost almost anywhere inside of the Coliseum. It was just about the size of the Coliseum Annex which now serves for offices, restaurant and other adjunct uses of national conventions. The Wigwam stood at the corner of Lake and Market Streets near the fork of Chicago River. It had a frontage of one hundred eighty feet on Market Street and a depth of one hundred feet on Lake. Four hundred and

sixty-six delegates and about sixty newspaper correspondents were seated upon an elevated platform, which, with a committee room at either end, occupied one entire side of the building. The rest of the structure was open to the public, the ladies and some delegations provided with tickets being seated in the gallery. Chicago announced that the building and the hospitality of the city were equal to taking care of all creation.

Chicago at this time had forty-two hotels, all operated on the American plan. Their rates were from one dollar and a half to two dollars and a half per day for board and room, and the hotel proprietors then and ever since were accused of extortion. The number of visitors who came, however, was far beyond the ability of hotels to accommodate; private houses opened their doors, some for pay and others out of hospitality. The eastern railroads granted a special round-trip rate of fifteen dollars from Buffalo, and the western roads somewhat reluctantly followed their example.

The railroad trains approaching Chicago took what now are known as straw-votes among their passengers bound for Chicago. On a Michigan Central train of twelve coaches, Seward had 210 votes against 30 for all other candidates. On a Chicago and Northwestern train Seward had 127 and all others 44. On a Chicago and Rock Island train Seward had 112 and the others totaled 41. On these three trains there appeared not to have been a single vote for Lincoln; but on a Chicago and Milwaukee train Seward had 368, Lincoln 93 and all others 46; while on a New Albany and Salem, Indiana, train Lincoln had 51, Seward 43, and the other candidates totaled 131.*

Within the Wigwam on the morning of May sixteenth were crowded fully ten thousand persons. Four years before when the Republican National Convention met in Philadelphia, a hall

*These figures are given by Professor P. Orman Ray, in an address before the Chicago Historical Society, from which I have obtained much valuable information. Professor Ray says of this vote on the Indiana train that it is the only one which he found mentioned in the newspaper reports or elsewhere in which Lincoln had more votes than Seward.

seating two thousand people had been ample for both delegates and spectators. At this convention ten thousand people jammed the Wigwam, and twenty thousand stood with hardly less enthusiasm outside.

The convention assembled at noon on Wednesday, May 16, 1860, Seward's fifty-ninth birthday. It was confidently expected that he would receive the nomination as a birthday present.

Governor Morgan, of New York, Chairman of the National Committee, called the convention to order. David Wilmot, of Pennsylvania, author of the famous Wilmot Proviso, was made temporary chairman and delivered the "key-note" speech. He was not a success as a presiding officer. A good deal of time was consumed discussing the question whether the convention would accept the invitation of the Chicago Board of Trade to take a short excursion on the lake at five o'clock in the afternoon. At two o'clock the convention took recess for three hours and reconvened at five to effect its permanent organization. At the five o'clock session Honorable George Ashmun, of Massachusetts, was elected permanent chairman. He had a good voice, and his rulings were clear and just. His election was a relief after the indecision and feeble presiding of Wilmot. A committee on resolutions was appointed to draft a platform. The convention adjourned until ten o'clock next morning. The evening appears to have been spent by a considerable number of the delegates in a sail on Lake Michigan, but the politicians were otherwise engaged.

On Thursday morning, the Seward men, all wearing badges, formed a large and picturesque procession in front of the Richmond House, and marched to the Wigwam preceded by a finely uniformed band playing in honor of Seward one of the popular airs of the day, entitled *Oh, Isn't He a Darling*. The forenoon of Thursday passed with no very exciting incidents.

On Thursday afternoon the first excitement occurred. The Committee on Platform earnestly desired to present a safe and

sane doctrine which would solidify all forces opposed to the Democratic administration. It therefore omitted from the first draft some of the more pronounced utterances of the Platform of 1856. Perhaps the most radical of the omitted affirmations was one quoted from the Declaration of Independence declaring that all men were endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which were life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. When the committee presented a Platform from which that affirmation had been omitted, Joshua R. Giddings, of Ohio, a white haired, battle-scarred veteran of the anti-slavery warfare, arose and moved its reinsertion. The convention voted his amendment down, and Giddings rose and indignantly started to walk out of the Wigwam, but was detained and took a seat in the rear of the room, refraining from participation in the proceedings until the vote was rescinded. A little later George William Curtis, one of the youngest of New York's delegates, rose, and in an earnest and tactful speech renewed Giddings' motion. His amendment prevailed, and Giddings returned placated, and the Platform was adopted amid tremendous enthusiasm. Thus the first threatened split was averted.

This result was achieved with a suddenness that surprised the Convention, and brought it at an earlier hour than had been expected to the time for nominations.

If printers invariably kept their promises, Abraham Lincoln would not have been president of the United States. If the convention could have got to balloting on Thursday night, William H. Seward would have been nominated. But the secretary was compelled to announce that the papers necessary for the keeping of the tally were not at hand, but would arrive in a few minutes. The convention was impatient at the delay, and a motion was made by some unknown delegate "that this convention adjourn until ten o'clock to-morrow morning." The motion to adjourn prevailed. If the unnamed delegate who made the motion to adjourn could be identified, he, perhaps animated by no higher motive than restlessness or the desire for a drink,

THE REPUBLICAN CONVENTION OF 1860
From a contemporary drawing

would be entitled to mention as one of the otherwise nameless voices that have uttered the messages of destiny.

The New York delegation was the largest and best organized of the state delegations. It was headed by Thurlow Weed, and had as one of its next most important attractions, a distinguished prize-fighter who served as bartender for the Seward interests at the Richmond House. Between these two notable men, the delegates had very nearly all the Republican leadership of New York, except Horace Greeley.

Horace Greeley did not come to the Convention of 1860 as a member of the New York delegation. That body was controlled by the Seward interests. Greeley sat in the convention as the substitute for a delegate from Oregon, the state over which as a territory Lincoln had been offered the office of governor.

Greeley came to the Chicago Convention as the avowed opponent of Thurlow Weed and William H. Seward. Thurlow Weed was a politician as adroit as America has ever seen. Desiring no office for himself, he greatly desired to say what men should occupy office. He was editor of the *Albany Journal,* and the ablest paragrapher of his generation. During the period when the Whig Party was coming to its end and the Republican Party was in process of formation, Weed and Seward had no more earnest or effective assistant than Horace Greeley, a younger man, who had come into great power as editor of the *New York Tribune.* The *Tribune* had begun with many difficulties attending it; but it grew to be one of the strongest papers in the nation. It was read as few papers are read in rural communities, and it influenced the thought of its readers as few papers then or since have done.

On Saturday evening, November 11, 1854, Greeley wrote to Governor Seward a notable letter, beginning as follows:

Governor Seward:

The election is over, and its results sufficiently ascertained. It seems to me a fitting time to announce to you the dissolution of the political firm of Seward, Weed and Greeley by the with-

drawal of the junior partner—said withdrawal to take effect on the morning after the first Thursday in February next.*

When Horace Greeley mailed that letter, he made it possible for Abraham Linclon to be chosen president six years later.

So Greeley came to the Chicago Convention, unrecognized by the New York state delegation, but entitled to a seat, a voice and a vote. He came to defeat Seward. He did not favor Lincoln, though he had heard Lincoln in Chicago in 1847, and met him in Washington in 1848, where his impression was that Lincoln was "a genial, cheerful rather homely man, noticeably tall, and the only Whig from Illinois, not remarkable otherwise."†

Greeley came to Chicago with strong expectation of uniting the votes opposed to Seward in support of Edward Bates.‡ But Bates had no possible hope of winning, and Greeley, after midnight of Thursday, sadly faced the fact that if Seward was defeated it must be by another man than Bates. Reluctantly he came to believe that the man who could defeat Seward in the convention without losing the election at the polls was Lincoln.

It was possible for Lincoln to be chosen as the nominee of the Republican Convention not because he was believed to be an abler man than Seward, but because Seward by his greater prominence had awakened certain antagonisms which Lincoln by his obscurity had avoided. It must be admitted as we view the matter from its present point of vantage that the hostilities which Seward had aroused were mostly to his credit.

Nevertheless, it was then clearly discerned that Pennsylvania would be hopelessly lost to the Republican Party if Seward were nominated, and Indiana also was more than doubtful. Some of the states which would probably vote against Seward were "October" states, whose national elections were held a month earlier than those of the majority of the states, and whose influence was

*The letter, together with a long account of the circumstances inspiring it, is given in full in Greeley's *Recollections of a Busy Life*, pp. 315-320.

†*Greeley's Estimate of Lincoln: An Unpublished Address.* The Century, July, 1891.

‡See *Recollections of a Busy Life*, by Horace Greeley, pp. 389 seq.

therefore accounted greater as foreshadowing the probable result of the general election. Seward was defeated because it was so well known just where he stood on the great national issues.

Lincoln was keeping in close touch with the situation. Several men in the convention were keeping him informed. Among them was Mark W. Delahay, of Kansas. Delahay was a Marylander by birth, who had come to Illinois and moved on to Kansas, where he was first a Douglas Democrat, and afterward became a Republican. He is the man who wrote to Lincoln that he thought he could be elected a member of the Kansas delegation, and do something to swing it for Lincoln, but that he could not afford to pay his own expenses to Chicago and back, and to whom Lincoln wrote saying that Lincoln would send him a hundred dollars toward his expenses. But Delahay did not succeed in getting on the delegation, and the delegates from Kansas were instructed for Seward. Lincoln wrote to Delahay saying to come with the delegation; "not to stir them up to anger" by too great insistence upon Lincoln, but to come, and Lincoln still would pay the hundred dollars.* Delahay came to Chicago, and was in frequent communication with Lincoln during the Convention. On Thursday afternoon Delahay wired Lincoln that his nomination appeared hopeless, and asked if Lincoln would accept a nomination as vice-president if Seward was chosen as nominee for president. Lincoln replied confidentially that he would accept, provided his friends thought it wise for him to do so.†

At eleven-forty Thursday night, Horace Greeley, who had been earnestly endeavoring to defeat Seward, telegraphed the *New York Tribune,* "My conclusion from all that I can gather

*Herndon quotes these letters without naming Delahay. (Vol. iii, pp. 457-459). Delahay continued to exercise more influence over Lincoln than was good for Lincoln, and Lincoln appointed him to a judgeship, from which President Grant was forced to remove him. A sketch of the life of Delahay, by his daughter, is in the *Reports of the Kansas Historical Society,* Vol. X, pp. 638-641. Delahay was a distant relative of Lincoln, his mother's father being Joshua Hanks.

†This statement I have from Honorable Addison G. Procter of the Kansas delegation, to whom Delahay showed the telegram.

to-night is that the opposition to Governor Seward can not concentrate on any candidate, and that he will be nominated."

Many accounts have been given of what followed. It is certain that William H. Seward would have been nominated if Horace Greeley had not quarreled with Seward and his manager, Thurlow Weed. It is quite certain that Greeley on Thursday night gave up all hope of defeating Seward, but that before morning he had changed his judgment by reason of his faith that Abraham Lincoln not only could defeat Seward in the convention, but also could defeat the Democratic candidate at the polls. Honorable Addison G. Procter, the sole surviving delegate to the convention, attributes the determining influence to the border-state leaders, notably Cassius M. Clay.*

On Friday morning the Seward forces gathered behind their magnificent brass band, and paraded through the streets of Chicago in triumphal procession to the Wigwam. The Lincoln forces, with much less of display, packed the Wigwam with shouters. There were so many Lincoln shouters in the Wigwam that a considerable part of the Seward crowd that had followed the band could not obtain entrance. The story of the disappointment of the Seward men when they returned from their procession and found themselves excluded from the seats for which they held tickets in the galleries of the Wigwam, has been told often, and appears entirely reliable. One incident hitherto unpublished may shed light on the way in which the Lincoln shouters were able to get into the Wigwam ahead of the Seward men, and occupy the seats. There were no reserved and numbered seats, but it was not expected that tickets would be issued in excess of the capacity of the building. On the evening before the nomination, however, Ward Hill Lamon obtained from the printers of the seat-tickets a large supply of extra tickets. He set certain young men at work signing these tickets with the

*Mr. Procter's interesting and valuable reminiscences are published by the Chicago Historical Society, in a booklet issued by the University of Chicago Press.

names of the officers of the Convention.* These young men did their part right merrily, and signed tickets nearly all night. In the morning, these tickets were furnished in liberal number to friends of Lincoln, who were clamoring for tickets for their friends. The tickets were given out with the suggestion that it would be well to get in early. Of course, neither Lincoln nor any of his responsible managers knew of this piece of work, which had the effect of crowding out a large fraction of Seward's shouting strength, and giving the space over to the shouters for Lincoln. A brass band upon the street may be considerably less effective than a well placed company of leather-lunged shouters. But neither they who followed the band nor they who packed the Wigwam knew that already the nomination had very nearly been settled. It had come to be believed by a considerable number of wavering delegates that if Seward should be nominated, he would be defeated; for he could not carry Pennsylvania, Indiana, or perhaps Illinois. Illinois and Indiana were for Lincoln, and the delegates had been hearing more and more about him, and coming to think more and more favorably for him. When the Pennsylvania delegation came over to Lincoln, the matter was practically settled.

A pamphlet had been circulated among the Pennsylvania men, ostensibly favorable to Cameron as president, but in reality planned to produce a sentiment favorable to his election as vice-president on a ticket with Edward Bates, of Missouri, who was Greeley's candidate. Cameron was certain to be named as the "favorite son" of Pennsylvania, but it was certain that he could not be nominated as president and not likely that he could win the nomination as vice-president. The enthusiastic friends of Lincoln did not hesitate to declare to leading Pennsylvania delegates that if they would be content with a seat in the Cabinet for Cameron, there would be no trouble about arranging the

*Honorable John H. Marshall, for many years circuit judge, residing, as did his father who was state senator and Lincoln's friend, at Charleston, Illinois, informs me that his brother, Senator Marshall's oldest son, was one of these young men.

matter, provided Pennsylvania would go for Lincoln. That was welcome news to Pennsylvania. Lincoln had no share in the making of this bargain, but he kept it.

At ten o'clock on Friday morning the Wigwam was jammed, and the crowd outside is said to have reached two blocks away. The New Yorkers prepared to do all necessary cheering for Seward. But the Illinois attendants at the convention were far more numerous. In the matter of lung power the men of the prairies were far and away superior to the New York delegation, because there were more of them.

Nominations began almost immediately. There were then no nominating speeches, such as later have come to thrill and sometimes to weary conventions. Honorable William H. Evarts first obtained the floor, and presented the name of Seward in these words:

"I take the liberty to name as a candidate to be nominated by this convention for the office of president of the United States, William H. Seward."

He was immediately followed by Norman D. **Judd, of Illinois,** with these words:

"I desire, on behalf of the delegation from Illinois, to put in nomination as a candidate for president of the United States, Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois."

There were other nominations equally brief, and a few seconds. The only one of these that contained any attempt at oratory was that of Mr. Delano, of Ohio, seconding the nomination of Abraham Lincoln as "a man who can split rails and maul Democrats." That little speech set the convention on fire.

In the balloting now, the roll-call of the states is in alphabetical order. It is an impressive sound, the musical names beginning with Alabama, Arkansas, and so on down the alphabet. But in 1860 a geographical order prevailed, beginning with New England and moving westward. There were four hundred and sixty-five votes; two hundred and thirty-three necessary to choice. On the first ballot Seward had one hundred seventy-

three and one-half, Lincoln one hundred and two, with Cameron, of Pennsylvania, third with fifty and one-half. On the second ballot the name of Cameron was withdrawn, and the vote stood, Seward one hundred eighty-four and one-half, a gain of eleven votes, and Lincoln one hundred eighty-one, a gain of seventy-nine. Chase, of Ohio, now stood third with forty-two and one-half votes. On the third ballot, Seward had one hundred eighty, a loss of four and one-half, while Lincoln had two hundred thirty-one and one-half, lacking only one and one-half of receiving the number necessary to nominate. Hundreds of people were keeping tally-sheets, and it was plainly seen how nearly the third ballot had come to nominating Lincoln. Before the vote was announced, Mr. Carter, of Ohio, sprang upon his chair and announced a change of five votes from Chase to Lincoln. A cannon had been placed on the roof, but the confusion was such that for a moment or two the man in charge could not be made to understand what had happened. When he understood and fired the gun, it could hardly be heard in the Wigwam. The *Chicago Tribune* declared that earth had heard no such tumult since the walls of Jericho fell down.

Other states then hurried to change their votes. There was the familiar "rush to get into the band-wagon." When the vote was finally announced, out of four hundred sixty-six votes cast, with two hundred thirty-four necessary to choice, Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, had three hundred sixty-four.

The nomination of Lincoln occurred about half-past twelve, and was followed by a number of speeches endorsing the nomination. At about half past one the convention adjourned until five o'clock, at which time it reconvened and nominated Hannibal Hamlin, of Maine, for vice-president. Then the convention gave cheers for the nominees, the platform, and the ladies of Chicago, and adjourned to "meet at the White House on the fourth of March next."

CHAPTER XXX

THE ELECTION OF LINCOLN

With the keenest possible interest Abraham Lincoln awaited in Springfield the news of the convention. On Thursday he accepted his probable defeat but he did not give up hope. On Friday morning he went early to his office. The convention did not assemble until ten o'clock, and Lincoln dropped in at the office of James C. Conkling, who had been attending the convention and returned unexpectedly to Springfield. Mr. Conkling brought Lincoln more favorable news than he had ventured to believe. Conkling told him that he was to be nominated that day. Lincoln had sent a message to his friends the day before, by the hand of one of the editors of the *Journal,* making his comment in pencil on the margin of a copy of the *Missouri Democrat,* which contained some passages with regard to Seward's stand on the slavery issue. Accepting this article as a correct statement of Seward's position, he had written:

"I agree with Seward in his 'irrepressible conflict,' but I do not endorse his 'Higher Law' doctrine. Make no contracts that will bind me." Thus, and by telegraph, had Lincoln had meager communication with the managers of his campaign in Chicago; it was heartening to get news direct from Conkling that his chance for the nomination was good.

Lincoln returned from Conkling's office to the office of Lincoln and Herndon.* Herndon was in Chicago. Lincoln was

*Many accounts are current in Springfield of the place and manner of Lincoln's receiving news of his nomination. No less than three men, all honest and highly esteemed, have told me in detail of having been the first to inform him of his nomination. I give what I think to be the correct account.

too nervous to sit down alone. He went out and played a few games of hand-ball in an open court on North Sixth Street between John Carmody's store and a brick building owned by Judge Logan. The *Journal* office was just across the alley from the Carmody store. He was in his office when the news of the first ballot reached him. The second ballot he appears to have received in the telegraph office, and the news of the third and final ballot in the *Journal* office shortly before one o'clock.

It is a matter of some importance that, when the final news came, Lincoln did not wait long to receive the congratulations of his friends, and said:

"There is a little woman over on Eighth Street that will be glad to hear the news; if you'll excuse me, I'll go and tell her."

The next day, Saturday, a special train left Chicago, bearing to Springfield the committee appointed to inform Lincoln of his nomination.* Willie and Tad Lincoln were the first members of the family to greet the delegation, which they did with a shout of "Hooray."

Inside the door Mr. Lincoln received them. Mr. Ashmun, President of the Convention, made the announcement briefly, and Lincoln accepted in an address of like brevity. There was a moment of silence, and Mr. Lincoln addressed Honorable William D. Kelley, of Pennsylvania:

"Judge Kelley, you are a tall man; what is your height?"

"I am six feet three, Mr. Lincoln."

"I beat you," said Lincoln, "I am six feet four."

These formalities and informalities being over, Mr. Lincoln said:

"Mrs. Lincoln will be pleased to see you in the other room, gentlemen. You must be thirsty after your journey."

They passed into the library and met Mrs. Lincoln, and had light refreshments; but the drink consisted wholly of water.

*This occasion has often been described in my hearing by Charles Carleton Coffin, who was present representing the *Boston Journal.*

Some of Lincoln's friends had offered to provide wine, but Lincoln declined.

Lincoln's letter of acceptance is as follows:

Springfield, Illinois, June 3, 1860.

Sir: I accept the nomination tendered me by the Convention over which you presided, of which I am formally apprised in a letter of yourself and others, acting as a Committee of the Convention for the purpose. The declaration of principles which accompanies your letter meets my approval and it shall be my care not to violate it or disregard it in any part. Imploring the assistance of Divine Providence, and with due regard to the views and feelings of all who were represented in the Convention, to the rights of all the states and territories and people of the nation, to the inviolability of the Constitution, and the perpetual union, prosperity and harmony of all, I am most happy to cooperate for the practical success of the principles declared by the Convention.

Your obliged friend and fellow citizen,
Abraham Lincoln.

Hon. George Ashmun.

The Democratic Convention of 1860 was held at Charleston. South Carolina. Practically the whole mass of the northern Democrats were for Douglas and the South was against him. Douglas and his managers offered as their platform the Cincinnati platform of 1856, with the addition of the demand for the annexation of Cuba, and an endorsement of the Dred Scott decision and of any future decisions of the Supreme Court, recognizing slavery in the territories. But the southern delegates would not accept this platform nor the man who stood upon it. A two-thirds vote was required to nominate, and many ballots were taken with Douglas in the lead, but not with a sufficient majority to give him the necessary two-thirds.

The convention adjourned to Baltimore. In the interval between the two meetings Douglas continued in the Senate an acrimonious debate against Jefferson Davis.

The Baltimore Convention split. One division nominated

Stephen A. Douglas, of Illinois, for president, and Hershel B. Johnson, of Georgia, for vice-president. Their platform was popular sovereignty. The pro-slavery wing of the Democratic party nominated John C. Breckenridge, of Kentucky, for president, and Joseph Lane, of Oregon, for vice-president. To increase the hopelessness of the Douglas campaign, the American Party, containing a forlorn remnant of old Whigs and some Democrats, renamed themselves the Constitutional Union Party, with John Bell, of Tennessee, for president, and Edward Everett, of Massachusetts, for vice-president. Lincoln and Douglas were opposed to each other again, but on most unequal terms. Every day it grew increasingly plain to Lincoln and his friends that he was certain to be elected in November. The cleavage in the Democratic ranks went to the very bottom. Two years previous Lincoln had mirthfully taken note of the hostility between Douglas and Buchanan, and had spoken of it in terms of that cheerful neutrality of the woman in the frontier story: "Go it, husband! Go it, bear!" Even more gleefully could he now enjoy that fight.

The Democrats, in that hour when union was an absolute necessity, if any hope of success was to be cherished, divided hopelessly. There was a conundrum current in that day, the answer to which was that Stephen A. Douglas was a greater man than Abraham Lincoln, for Lincoln split rails and Douglas split the Democratic Party.

The Republican Party needed every omen of good cheer to encourage it after the nomination of Lincoln. There came a swift reaction. Delegates from the east returned to their homes to meet the question, "Why did you pass by the great statesmen of the Republican Party and give us a railsplitter?" Even Illinois felt a kind of awestricken reaction. It had gone for Lincoln as a "favorite son," hardly more than half believing it possible that he could be nominated; and now the Illinois Republicans had an awful fear that the really great leaders of the party would leave them and their candidate to get out of the situation as best they could.

Honorable O. H. Browning was a friend of Lincoln, and of course voted for him as a delegate to this convention. We may profitably read a few pages from his diary at this point. He had been in frequent consultation with Lincoln; and, being in Springfield, Wednesday, February 8, he wrote:

At night Lincoln came to my room, and we had a free talk about the Presidency. .He thinks I may be right in supposing Mr. Bates to be the strongest and best man we can run—that he can get votes even in this county that he cannot get—and that there is a large class of voters in all the free States that would go for Mr. Bates, and for no other man. He says it is not improbable that by the time the National convention meets in Chicago he may be of opinion that the very best thing that can be done will be to nominate Mr. Bates. Dick Yates and Philips also think Mr. Bates stronger in this State than any other man who has been named. I hope to start home at 6 o'clock in the morning.

Of the convention he wrote:

My first choice for the Presidency was Mr. Bates of Missouri, but under instructions our whole delegation voted for Mr. Lincoln. Many reasons influenced to support Mr. Bates, the chief of which, next to his eminent fitness, were to strengthen our organization in the South, and remove apprehension in the South of any hostile purpose on the part of Republicans to the institutions of the South—to restore fraternal regard among the different sections of the Union—to bring to our support the old whigs in the free States, who have not yet fraternized with us, and to give some check to the ultra tendencies of the Republican party. Mr. Bates received 48 votes on the first ballot, and would probably have been nominated if the struggle had been prolonged.

After the convention he was sure that the election was lost unless Bates would take the stump for Lincoln. On Tuesday, May 22, he wrote:

Fine day. At work in office. Mrs. B. and I out at Cox's to tea. "Help me Cassius or I sink." This P. M. I received a

long letter from Hon. David Davis, Thos. A. Marshall, N. B. Judd, E. Peck & O. M. Hatch, entreating me in the most earnest terms to go, without delay, to St. Louis, and see Judge Bates, and try and prevail upon him to come into Illinois, and assist us in the campaign. They want his influence to carry the old whig element for Lincoln. Some of these same men had blamed me for supporting Judge Bates for the Presidency and had asserted, in the most emphatic terms, that he could not carry Illinois. I believed before the convention, and believe now, that he would have carried the entire Republican party, and the old whig party beside, and I think others are beginning to suspect the same thing, and that we have made a mistake in the selection of candidates.

I immediately wrote a long and urgent letter to Judge Bates, and follow it in person tomorrow—for in my opinion, the existence of the party and the highest good of the country, are alike dependent on our success, and I am willing to forego all personal preferences, and make any reasonable sacrifice to secure a triumph.

Judge Bates at first was non-committal; he was not sure it would be dignified for a man who had been a candidate before the convention to go on the stump. Browning was overjoyed when Bates, a week later, in an open letter committed himself to the Lincoln cause.

If Orville H. Browning, of Illinois, felt thus, how did such men as Charles Francis Adams, of Massachusetts, feel? He delivered an able speech in the House of Representatives on May 31, 1860, two weeks after the convention, on *The Republican Party a Necessity*. In carefully formulated logic he delivered that address, which the Republican National Committee reprinted as a campaign document. It was a strong plea for the Republican Party, but it did not contain the name of Abraham Lincoln!

To their lasting honor let it be recorded that Lincoln's rivals before the convention, Seward and Chase and Cameron and Bates, supported him loyally.

In time the enthusiasm which at first was lacking, rose; for

it became evident that, owing to the divisions in the Democratic Party, Lincoln had more than an even chance of winning.

There was much that was picturesque in the campaign of 1860. There was oratory and martial music; there were torchlight processions and long parades. There was much singing. Some very reputable poets wrote campaign songs for the marching clubs. William Cullen Bryant wrote one. Edmund Clarence Stedman rewrote *The Star Spangled Banner* in praise of Honest Abe of the West:

> He's the Chief in whose rule all the land shall be blest,
> Is our noble Old Abe, Honest Abe of the West!

Even Horace Greeley dropped into poetry in a very good song, written for *The Bobolink Minstrel*:

> As trembles the earth to its mighty emotion,
> More firm grows each patriot knee,
> While people and States from the lakes to the ocean,
> Proudly join in the march of the free!

It must be admitted that these well-wrought poems did not attain to popularity. Richard Grant White, at the close of the Civil War, compiled a book of war poetry, and went out of his way, both in the text of the book and in the Introduction to record his scorn of "that senseless farago," *John Brown's Body Lies a-Mould'ring in the Grave*. He lamented the fact that they had begun to sing it in England, but predicted that it would soon die there as already, in 1866, it was alleged to be dying in this country.

The songs that were popular in 1860, on Lincoln's side (and I forbear to quote those that were sung in derision of him), were not composed by well-known poets. They were jingles set to such tunes as *Rosin the Bow* and *Old Uncle Ned*. They were songs that informed *Old Buck* of his ultimate destination, and the route, namely, Salt River.

There were songs in recognition of the predestined fate of *Little Doug,* as this, which was sung to the tune of *Uncle Ned*:

There was a little man and his name was Stevy Doug,
To the White House he longed for to go;
But he hadn't any votes in the whole of the South,
In the place where his votes ought to grow.

His legs were short, but his speeches they were long,
And nothing but himself he could see;
His principles were weak, but his spirits they were strong,
For a thirsty little soul was he.

As for songs about "Old Abe," they were abundant. Even Willie and Tad Lincoln sang in the house in Springfield, and later in the White House how—

Old Abe Lincoln came out of the wilderness,
Down in Illinois.

Arnold, who participated in this campaign, tells its story as the culmination of long deferred hope:

This Presidential campaign has had no parallel. The enthusiasm of the people was like a great conflagration, like a prairie fire before a wild tornado. A little more than twenty years had passed since Owen Lovejoy, brother of Elijah Lovejoy, on the bank of the Mississippi, kneeling on the turf not then green over the grave of the brother who had been killed for his fidelity to freedom, had sworn eternal war against slavery. From that time on, he and his associate abolitionists had gone forth preaching their crusade against oppression, with hearts of fire and tongues of lightning, and now the consummation was to be realized of a President elected on the distinct ground of opposition to the extension of slavery. For years the hatred of that institution had been growing and gathering force. Whittier, Bryant, Lowell, Longfellow, and others, had written the lyrics of liberty; the graphic pen of Mrs. Stowe, in "Uncle Tom's Cabin," had painted the cruelties of the overseer and the slaveholder, but the acts of slaveholders themselves did more to pro-

mote the growth of anti-slavery than all other causes. The persecutions of abolitionists in the South; the harshness and cruelty attending the execution of the fugitive slave laws; the brutality of Brooks in knocking down, on the floor of the Senate, Charles Sumner, for words spoken in debate; these and many other outrages had fired the hearts of the people of the free states against this barbarous institution. Beecher, Phillips, Channing, Sumner, and Seward, with their eloquence; Chase, with his logic; Lincoln, with his appeals to the principles of the Declaration of Independence, and to the opinions of the founders of the republic, his clear statements, his apt illustrations, above all, his wise moderation—all had swelled the voice of the people, which found expression through the ballot-box, and which declared that slavery should go no further. It was now proclaimed that "the further spread of slavery should be arrested, and it should be placed where the public mind should rest in the belief of its ultimate extinction."*

At that time Ohio, Pennsylvania and Indiana all held their elections in October. These all voted for Lincoln. The result was now as certain as any future event could be and Lincoln and his wife anticipated the happy day when he was to be elected president.

After his nomination, Lincoln moved his headquarters from his law office to a room in the state-house building. He left virtually all his law business to Herndon and spent his days receiving delegations and individuals who came to consult him. His secretary, John G. Nicolay, was with him in the office, and before he departed for Washington he engaged another secretary, John Hay.

It was commonly supposed in Springfield that Lincoln would not vote. Lincoln himself had thought that he would not vote for his own electors and he adhered to this plan. He decided to cast a vote for the state ticket, but not to vote for himself. He went to the polls accompanied by his law partner, William H. Herndon, his Danville associate, Ward Hill Lamon, and a young

**Life of Lincoln,* pp. 170-171.

law student, Elmer Ellsworth, at that time a member of his household.

The election of November sixth showed the following results: Lincoln received 180 electoral votes, and a popular vote of 1,866,452. Douglas received 12 electoral votes and a popular vote of 1,375,157. Breckenridge received 72 electoral votes and a popular vote of 847,953. Bell received 39 electoral votes and a popular vote of 570,631. Douglas carried but one state outright, but had some scattering votes. Breckenridge swept the South, and Bell the border states, but Lincoln had the solid North. But though Douglas had only twelve votes in the electoral college, he had a popular vote of more than one and a third millions, and stood as a dangerous second to Lincoln in popular regard. He had fought the campaign to its finish, stumping the country on his own behalf as presidential candidates at that time had rarely done, and he went down with his colors flying.

After the election, Lincoln's days were increasingly full. Photographers came to photograph him and artists to paint him. The Representatives' Hall was not then occupied, and the painters set up their easels there. Lincoln posed for the artists a little while each morning as he looked over his mail.

He greeted all who came to see him cordially. Even Hannah Armstrong, widow of his Clary Grove friend, made a pilgrimage to Springfield, and was entertained at the Lincoln home, but she was not very sure that Mrs. Lincoln enjoyed having her there.

The period that followed Lincoln's election was one of growing perplexity. He was beset by office holders and distressed by the demands of different factions that he should commit himself to one policy or another. He had no peace by day, and none too much rest at night.

Lincoln remained in Springfield after his nomination for the presidency. Except for one journey to Chicago, and one which he made to visit his aged stepmother, he hardly left Springfield. He made no speeches. Neither did he make or permit to be made on his behalf any other formal declaration than the party platform. Honorable Lawrence Weldon wrote:—

Mr. Lincoln took no public part in the campaign of 1860. He attended one political meeting, but declined to speak. On the day appointed by law the Republican electors met at Springfield and were entertained at dinner by Mr. J. C. Conkling, the elector for the district. Mr. Lincoln was there as one of the guests, and talked freely but sadly as to the condition of things incident to his election. Governor Yates, who had been elected governor, was of the party, and expressed to him the necessity of being firm and determined. Lincoln replied that he hoped he would be adequate to the responsibility of the situation; and that in his hands, as president, the Republic of Washington would not perish.*

Among the various things that Lincoln did between his nomination and his departure for Washington was this, that he decided to grow a beard. This gave much concern to the artists who were thronging Springfield at the time, and resulted in two sets of pictures, one set made in the spring and summer of 1860, showing Lincoln without a beard, and the other made later with a set of whiskers that covered his face except his upper lip. Artists generally have deplored the change; for the beard did not hide the lower lip which was the least attractive feature, and it hid the finely modeled chin. But after the beard had passed its experimental stages, and had found its metes and bounds, it became a decorative feature which can not be spared from the countenance of Lincoln.

A few days after the election, Lincoln arranged for a visit to Chicago, where, by appointment, he met the vice-presidential candidate, Honorable Hannibal Hamlin, who journeyed from Maine to meet him. For several days there were conferences in the city, which became the center of political interest of the nation. Chicago had never seen a president elect nor a vice-president elect nor the wife of a president elect, and it was determined to miss none of them. After various private conferences and visits and some shopping, there was a notable reception in

**Reminiscences of Abraham Lincoln by Distinguished Men of His Time*, p. 209.

the Tremont House on Friday, November twenty-second. Lincoln stood first in line; Mrs. Lincoln stood next to him on his right; Mr. Hamlin stood next. All three shook hands with all comers. Lincoln received them all graciously, now holding to the hand of a particularly tall man, and now and then greeting with special cordiality an old friend. A small boy who shouted for the Republican candidates was caught up by Mr. Lincoln and tossed almost to the ceiling, to the mutual delight of the lad and the future president. Eight little girls halted the procession while Mr. Lincoln painstakingly wrote his autograph for each of them. The next day, Saturday, Mr. Hamlin returned east, and the Lincolns went back to Springfield, where they remained, with the exception of one visit of his, until they left for Washington.

On this visit Mr. and Mrs. Lincoln met in Chicago by appointment, Joshua F. Speed and his wife. The two men had a good visit and a happy recalling of old times. The two women were equally happy shopping; Mrs. Lincoln intended to go to Washington wearing good clothes.

Thomas Lincoln, Abraham's father, had died, January 17, 1851. Shortly before Abraham Lincoln left Springfield, he made a journey to Coles County where his stepmother was still living, and bade her an affectionate farewell. The relations which existed between this good woman and her stepson were ideal, and the meeting was one which left her with the tenderest memories. But she had a deep foreboding with respect to their parting. Some shadow, it seemed to her, hung over this beloved son of hers. She felt that even if she should live to the time of the completion of his presidential term, she should never see him again.

CHAPTER XXXI

THE INTERREGNUM

November 6, 1860—March 4, 1861

BETWEEN the presidential election in November and the inauguration on March fourth, is a space of approximately four months.* In some instances it has proved none too long an interval. When a new man is elevated to an office as important as the presidency, four months is a period well suited to his education. He has a Cabinet to select, an inaugural address to prepare, and a multitude of matters to learn and prepare to do. Grover Cleveland may be instanced as a president to whom the interval of four months was invaluable. So might it have been for Lincoln. He needed the time. But it was a period of peril in 1860-1, and it has often proved too long an interval for the best interests of the country. While Lincoln was in Springfield, preparing his inaugural address, much water flowed down the Potomac, as well as the Sangamon. Of matters as they were moving in Washington, three may be mentioned, the disruption and reorganization of Buchanan's Cabinet, the Crittenden Compromise, and the Peace Conference. All these were in the background of Lincoln's thinking as he wrote out his address, and these influenced the character of his utterance and the definition of his policies.

Within a month after the election of Lincoln, the Congress convened. President Buchanan was in the unhappy situation of having to present a message after the nation had repudiated his

*The date of the election in 1860 was November sixth.

policy and party. A fragmentary diary kept by John B. Floyd,* Buchanan's Secretary of War, shows that from the very week of Lincoln's election Buchanan's Cabinet was split. According to this document, Buchanan's first impulse was to accept the result of the election, and to resist attempts at secession, but to call a convention to compromise, if possible, the controversy that threatened to disrupt the Union. The Cabinet at this time consisted of General Lewis Cass, of Michigan, Secretary of State; Howell Cobb, of Georgia, Secretary of the Treasury; John B. Floyd, of Virginia, Secretary of War; Isaac Toucey, of Connecticut, Secretary of the Navy; Jacob Thompson, of Mississippi, Secretary of the Interior; Joseph Holt, of Kentucky, Postmaster-General; and Jeremiah S. Black, of Pennsylvania, Attorney General.

On December 3, 1860, President Buchanan presented his message to Congress, knowing that his Cabinet was split in twain on the matters contained in that document. Cass, Black, Holt and Toucey were on one side, and Floyd, Thompson and Cobb on the other. There was some shifting of positions among the Cabinet members, but practically the line of division followed that between the seceding and the loyal states.

President Buchanan's policy was the preservation of the Union at all hazards.† But his attempts to preserve it were feeble and pathetic. His Message to Congress displayed an

*Published entire in *The Early Life, Campaigns and Public Services of Robert E. Lee.* Alleged to have been written by "a distinguished Southern Journalist" and published in 1871 by E. B. Treat, New York. Cited by Nicolay and Hay, *Century,* October, 1887.

†For a defense of Buchanan and his administration, see *Mr. Buchanan's Administration on the Eve of the Rebellion.* This book, at first issued anonymously, was later acknowledged as the work of ex-President Buchanan himself. It was published by Appleton, New York, in 1866. The Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress has an able monograph by Honorable Jeremiah S. Black, and also an article on the same subject and using much of the material, by his son, Chauncey F. Black, intended as a concluding chapter to the first volume of Lamon's *Life of Lincoln.* So far as I am aware, or the records of the Manuscript Division show, these papers have not been examined by any one except the author of this work since they were deposited with the Library of Congress. They appear, among other things, to settle the question of the real authorship of Lamon's book.

earnest hope that the Union might be preserved, and a declaration that no state had a right to secede, while disclaiming all authority on the part of the administration to make that hope effective, or to prevent the illegal act.

On December twentieth, at 1:15 P. M. a convention convened in Charleston, South Carolina, passed an ordinance of secession; and Mr. Buchanan did not know of any way in which he could prevent it. On December twenty-sixth, South Carolina sent a Commission to Washington to treat with Mr. Buchanan concerning the peaceable departure of South Carolina from the Union, and the president received and conferred with them on the next day. The point just then immediately at issue was the question whether the forts in Charleston harbor were to be defended against the government of South Carolina which considered itself an independent state, no longer in the Union. The president vacillated; but the demands of the commissioners were at length refused by him through the opposition of the reorganized Cabinet.

While the last months of Buchanan's administration displayed an appalling impotence upon his part, there was an element of saving vigor in the loyalty of a portion of his Cabinet. There was full need of all the loyalty that existed, for within the Cabinet as originally constituted was quite sufficient material for the nucleus of a Cabinet for the Confederacy. Of the seven men whom Buchanan had chosen as his official advisers were three secessionists of the most radical type. Howell Cobb was considered by the Confederate States as a possible president instead of Jefferson Davis. Jacob Thompson, in December, 1860, while still a member of the Cabinet, left Washington, and visited North Carolina seeking to encourage that state to secede. This mission did not induce him to resign his place in the Cabinet, and he even claimed, what it would seem could not possibly have been true, that Buchanan knew and approved his mission. John B. Floyd, while still in the Cabinet, delivered over to the Confederate States, organized as an independent and hostile gov-

ernment, everything within them belonging to the government which he as Secretary of War could control.

Jeremiah S. Black was a northern man, from Pennsylvania, the president's own state. He furnished to Buchanan an elaborate opinion, which Buchanan used as the basis of his last message to Congress, to the effect that no state had a right to secede, but affirming that the president had no power under the Constitution to use the resources of his office for the preservation of the Union.

Early in December, Howell Cobb resigned from the Treasury and left it conveniently empty. Philip F. Thomas, of Maryland, a Secessionist, succeeded Cobb. He had nothing to spend and a short time in which to have expended it. His appointment was unimportant. General Cass, a Jackson Democrat of the old school, resigned from the State Department, December thirteenth. In his place Buchanan appointed Judge Black, and brought into the Cabinet as attorney general, Edwin M. Stanton. This was a change of very great importance. On December twenty-ninth Mr. Floyd resigned, and went where he belonged. He was succeeded by Joseph Holt, a staunch, loyal Democrat, who had been serving as postmaster general. On January eighth Jacob Thompson resigned his position as secretary of the interior, and the vacancy was unfilled. On the following day Philip F. Thomas, who had succeeded Howell Cobb as secretary of the treasury, resigned. The New York bankers forced Buchanan to appoint as his successor General John A. Dix, an old time Democrat, but a strong Union man. His telegram on January twenty-ninth was the first cheering and virile word representing the administration: "If any man attempts to haul down the American flag, shoot him on the spot."

On Sunday morning, December thirtieth, the South Carolina commissioners who had arrived in Washington, demanded recognition and the right to treat with the government as though they represented a foreign power. Buchanan declined to receive them in that capacity, but was not unwilling to treat with them as

intermediary between those commissioners and Congress. He found, however, that he must reckon with the loyal members of his Cabinet. As he could come to no terms with Black, Stanton and Holt consistent with his giving aid and comfort to these enemies of his country, he accepted a reply to them drafted by Black and approved by Stanton and Holt. This was so unsatisfactory to the Confederate commissioners that they returned to South Carolina. Thenceforth the South covered Buchanan with abuse, perhaps greater even than that of the North. That poor unfortunate man in his senile indecision waited helplessly for the end of his troubled administration.

The loyal members of Buchanan's Cabinet, however, engaged in secret counsel seeking the preservation of the Union. As these four members of Buchanan's Cabinet, including Dix, represented the hope of the united nation in the dying administration, so in a very real sense did William H. Seward at this time emerge in Congress as the representative of the incoming administration.

To all intents and purposes Buchanan abdicated on Sunday morning, December 30, 1860. From that time until the end of his administration the Cabinet virtually governed whatever was left of the Union. Stanton and Holt, and subsequently Dix, made a strong trio of uncompromising Union men, and Black swung around first to a degree of partial cooperation with them, and later to essential leadership of their earnest efforts to save the Union.

While President Buchanan and his Cabinet were thus working at cross purposes, and unable to arrive at any result, the Senate undertook the consideration of a possible preventive of war and disruption of the Union. The venerable John J. Crittenden, of Kentucky, then seventy-three years of age, had for many years been a leader of the Whig Party. He had served long in the Senate and was about to retire, the then vice-president of the United States, Honorable J. C. Breckenridge, having been chosen as his successor, to take his seat with the new administration, March 4, 1861. Senator Crittenden earnestly desired

to crown his service in the Senate with a compromise which should weld the Union together. Of his loyalty and good faith there can be no question. His resolutions introduced December 18, 1860, proposed, in his own words:

. . . The restoration of the Missouri Compromise, extending the line throughout the Territories of the United States to the eastern border of California, recognizing slavery in all the territory south of that line, and prohibiting slavery in all the territory north of it; with a provision, however, that when any of those Territories, north or south, are formed into States, they shall then be at liberty to exclude or admit slavery as they please; and that, in the one case or the other, it shall be no objection to their admission into the Union. "In this way, sir," he said, "I propose to settle the question, both as to territory and slavery, so far as regards the Territories of the United States.

"I propose, sir, also, that the Constitution shall be so amended as to declare that Congress shall have no power to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia so long as slavery exists in the States of Maryland and Virginia; and that they shall have no power to abolish slavery in any of the places within their special jurisdiction within the Southern States."*

Further provisions of the Crittenden Compromise were to prevent an apprehended prohibition of inter-state traffic in slaves; to provide that if in any state or locality local sentiment or popular uprising should prevent the enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law, the owners of the slaves should be compensated; and that the foregoing constitutional amendments should be made absolutely irrepealable.

The imminent danger to the Union and the utter failure of the Buchanan administration to prevent its disruption, gave to these proposals remarkable popularity. They appeared to be the only effective proposal for the salvation of the Union.

Mention has been made of the reaction that followed Lincoln's nomination. It must be remembered that a mightier reaction

*_Life of John J. Crittenden_, by his daughter, Mrs. Chapman Coleman, Philadelphia, 1871; ii, pp. 224-225.

followed his election. Noted abolitionists were denied the use of public halls. The entire North seemed to have been seized with a determination to disavow any sentiments which could be considered as bordering upon abolition. Timidity and reaction became general. Republican leaders made haste to explain that they were not in sympathy with any measures which could offend the South.

On February 6, 1861, an all-day meeting was held in Faneuil Hall, in Boston, in favor of the Crittenden Compromise. The Mayor, Honorable Joseph M. Wightman, presided. Reverend Doctor Blagden offered prayer. Repeated references were made to Faneuil Hall as a place appropriate for such a meeting. A petition was read which, it was stated, had been signed by 22,000 citizens of Massachusetts, favorable to such a compromise. Horace Greeley believed that if the Crittenden Compromise had been submitted to popular vote, it would have prevailed by an overwhelming majority.

Greeley himself, however, did not favor the compromise. Writing of it later, he said:

> The Republican Party, which had been called into existence by the opening of free soil to slavery, seemed in positive danger of signaling its advent to power by giving its direct assent to the practical extension of slavery over a region far larger and more important than that theoretically surrendered by the Kansas-Nebraska bill.*

So astute a politician as Thurlow Weed believed that this compromise ought to be adopted, and Seward, he of the "irrepressible conflict," probably agreed with him. Weed went to Springfield about the time that Crittenden introduced his Resolutions, and is believed to have advised Lincoln to accept this compromise.

Lincoln declined.†

**Recollections of a Busy Life,* pp. 396-7.

†Professor Nathaniel Wright Stephenson makes this decision "the crisis" in Lincoln's career, and thinks that Weed went to Springfield as Seward's henchman to induce Lincoln to accept the compromise. He even thinks that

Why did Lincoln refuse the Crittenden Compromise? One reason may have been that he already had some occasion to distrust Crittenden as a compromiser. One of Crittenden's compromises had cut Lincoln deeply. Lincoln believed that he might have been elected Senator if Crittenden had kept out of Illinois politics, or had stood by a long-time Whig in his contest with a Democrat. Lincoln wrote to Crittenden after the election of 1858:

> The emotions of defeat at the close of a struggle in which I felt more than a merely selfish interest, and to which defeat the use of your name contributed largely, are fresh upon me; but even in this mood I cannot for a moment suspect you of anything dishonorable.

No one who knew Senator Crittenden could suspect him of anything dishonorable; but Lincoln, when urged to follow Crittenden in a compromise at the end of 1860, could not have failed to remember the advice of Crittenden at the time of the Lincoln-Douglas debates. Lincoln was too great and magnanimous a

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Lincoln's decision was announced on December twentieth, "the very day South Carolina adopted its Ordinance of Secession," and that this coincidence, "one of the great events in American history," occurred on this day "by a rare propriety of dramatic effect." But this seems to me an overstraining of the situation. Crittenden introduced his Compromise Resolutions on December eighteenth; there was not time for Weed and Seward to have come to such deliberate judgment and for Weed to have made the journey and had his long conference by December twentieth. Further, Lincoln had already declined this proposal in a letter to Washburne. Moreover, in Weed's own account of this, his second visit to Springfield since Lincoln's nomination, he makes no mention of the compromise as a topic of conversation. Still further, Lincoln had already told Weed, in his letter of December seventeenth, in answer to Weed's inquiry of the eleventh, that Weed might say that he judged from Lincoln's speeches that Lincoln would be "inflexible on the territorial question," and that he would not accept the plan of extending the Missouri line. Lincoln further added, that, as Weed would find very little in Lincoln's speeches about secession, and these published speeches were to be the assumed basis of his information of Lincoln's position, Lincoln was willing to have this said to a possible conference of governors about which Weed had written:

"My opinion is that no state can in any way lawfully get out of the Union without the consent of the others; and that it is the duty of the president and other government functionaries to run the machine as it is."

This was, of course, decisive as to the Crittenden Compromise, which appears to have been hardly mentioned when Weed and Lincoln met later in December.

man to have carried his resentment against Crittenden, even if he felt such resentment, to the point of opposing through revenge the policy of a man whom he believed to have injured him; still, Lincoln could not forget how wrong, as it seemed to him, had been the judgment of Senator Crittenden two years before, and he did not follow that judgment in December, 1860.

But there was a further reason why Lincoln did not accept the Crittenden Compromise. Lincoln did not believe in December, 1860, that the South would really go the length of declaring war. Serious as the situation was, he believed that the South would yield before it would resort to actual bloodshed. And he fully expected that when he showed a kindly firmness, the effect would be a reuniting of the Union, even after South Carolina had passed her Ordinance of Secession.

A further and appreciative word is due the memory of Senator Crittenden. In the closing hours of Congress, just before he was to leave the Senate for ever, he took the floor, not on behalf of his compromise, but in favor of an amended measure, which, it was believed, might possibly unite the Union. When certain of the senators urged the original Crittenden measure, he said that while he personally would have preferred his own, he would vote against his own and in favor of the measure which presented the larger hope of effecting an agreement capable of saving the Union. With that measure we shall presently deal. Senator Crittenden, old and feeble, returned to Kentucky, and there addressed the Legislature in a strong speech in favor of the Union. His own son, a West Point graduate, and a colonel in the United States Army, resigned and became a major general in the Confederate Army, but the father stood firm for the Union. He no longer had a seat in the Senate, but he was elected to the House, and there served with conspicuous loyalty until his death, July 26, 1863. He hoped to live to see the Union restored by the complete defeat of the Confederate Army, and he prepared a resolution which he hoped to present

to Congress, providing for a restored Union on a basis of magnanimity and good will.*

The Peace Convention, which related itself somewhat intimately to the Crittenden Compromise, was called by resolution of the Legislature of Virginia, and met in Washington, at noon, on Monday, February 4, 1861, exactly a month before the inauguration of Abraham Lincoln. At the outset the following states were represented by commissioners:

New Hampshire, Rhode Island, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, Kentucky, Ohio and Indiana.

Before the close, the roll showed representatives present from Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, Kentucky, Missouri, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa and Kansas.

The venerable John Tyler, ex-President of the United States, was chairman, and the representatives of the several states were men of high standing. The convention continued its sessions until Wednesday, February twenty-seventh, Mr. Lincoln having arrived in Washington on the Saturday previous.

This convention practically accepted the Crittenden Resolutions as the basis of its discussions, and at length, but by a divided vote, approved a modification of the Crittenden Resolutions as a proposed Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, and sent ex-President Tyler to the Congress to present the results of the deliberations.†

It ought to be remembered that there were those who doubted, up to the very hour of the inaugural, whether Lincoln would have opportunity to read his address. The Constitution of the United States reads:

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*This resolution, found among his papers after his death, is in his *Life*, by his daughter, ii, p. 369.

†The discussions were held in secret, but full notes were preserved, and just before adjournment the ban of secrecy was removed. The *Proceedings* were published in 1865, having been edited by L. E. Chittenden, one of the delegates from New York, and later auditor of the Treasury.

The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted.

By whom were the votes to be counted? It was the duty of the president of the Senate to open the certificates, but whose duty was it to count the votes? What power was there to compel any one to count them? What could be done to punish any one who should refuse to count the votes?

The president of the Senate was John C. Breckenridge, an unsuccessful candidate for the presidency; suppose he should "open all the certificates" as the Constitution required, and entertain a motion to refer to a special committee the question whether there was authority for any counting of the votes, and if so, what the authority was, and whose the duty was? There were members of Congress who held that, as the counting of the votes which, as was known, would declare Abraham Lincoln president, would wreck the nation, any tactics of delay or obstruction that might avert that calamity, no matter what the alternative, would be meritorious.

Lincoln himself was somewhat worried over this possibility. The pro-slavery element still in Congress was strong; what if it should show its strength by making the election of Lincoln a nullity by preventing the counting of the vote?

Happily, no such condition arose. On the second Wednesday in February, 1861, the two Houses of Congress met in joint session, and the vice-president opened the certificates of election. Stephen A. Douglas, also a defeated candidate for the presidency, led in a movement to simplify the procedure. The vote was counted without incident, and Vice-President Breckenridge declared that Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, had been duly elected president of the United States, for a term of four years beginning at noon on March 4, 1861.

The South had hardly expected that Lincoln could be elected. In December, 1856, a meeting of governors of slave states was held, and Governor Wise, of Virginia, declared that if Frémont

had been elected he would have marched to Washington at the head of twenty thousand men, and prevented his inauguration.

The dreaded event which had seemed impossible had finally occurred. An anti-slavery president had been elected. Although the new Congress did not have a Republican majority in either House, the southern leaders were thoroughly aroused and alarmed.

As soon as the results of the election were assured, the South Carolina Legislature called a convention and adjourned. The convention assembled, and on December 20, 1860, passed an ordinance declaring "that the Union now subsisting between South Carolina and other states under the name 'United States of America' is hereby dissolved." Within about six weeks Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia and Louisiana held conventions and passed secession ordinances. On February 23, 1861, Texas joined the list of seceding states. The other slave states did not immediately follow.

On February 4, 1861, just four weeks before the inauguration of the new president, delegates from the seceded states met at Montgomery, Alabama, and organized a government under the name of the "Confederate States of America." A constitution was adopted by a newly elected Congress on March eleventh, and was soon ratified by the states to which it was referred. Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi, was elected president, and Alexander H. Stephens, of Georgia, was elected vice-president.

These preparations in the South produced what was very nearly a moral panic in the North. War, it was felt, must be averted at whatever cost. In Boston twenty-two thousand citizens signed a petition to Congress to make such concessions as should avert war. A meeting held in that city to commemorate the anniversary of the hanging of John Brown was broken up by a mob. The *New York Tribune* came out with an editorial on November sixteenth advising that the "erring sisters," the Southern States, be permitted to "depart in peace." Thurlow Weed's paper, the *Albany Journal,* took essentially the same po-

sition, and so did two other prominent New York Free-soil papers, the *Times,* and the *Courier and Inquirer.* The *Indianapolis Journal* advocated compromise and concession. The *Detroit Free Press* declared editorially that if an army was sent south to subdue the seceding states, it would encounter a fire in the rear.

Through all this and much more, Mr. Lincoln remained silent. But he did much thinking, and some confidential writing. On December eleventh, he wrote to Mr. Kellogg, the Illinois member of the Committee of Thirty-three appointed by the lower House of Congress to consider the emergency:

Entertain no proposition for a compromise in regard to the extension of slavery. The instant you do this, they have us under again; all our labor is lost, and sooner or later must be done over again. The tug has to come, and better now than later.

To Elihu B. Washburne, Member of Congress from the Galena district, he wrote December thirteenth:

Prevent as far as possible any of our friends from demoralizing themselves or their cause by entertaining propositions of any sort on slavery extension. . . On that point hold firm as a chain of steel.

But on almost any other point Lincoln was more than ready to make concessions. He was himself in a state of great anxiety over the situation. Yet he did not really believe that the southern states would leave the Union, or that they would resort to war.

On December twenty-second, the *New York Tribune* announced editorially:

We are enabled to say in the most positive terms that Mr. Lincoln is utterly opposed to any concession or compromise that shall yield one iota of the position occupied by the Republican party on the subject of slavery in the territories, and that he

stands now as he stood in May last, when he accepted the nomination, square upon the Republican platform.

Beyond this, Lincoln was ready to make concessions; but not on the extension of slavery.

But what about the man Abraham Lincoln, all this time? How did he feel and what did he think during those anxious months?

Lincoln entered upon his presidential campaign with something almost like elation. Herndon tells us that Lincoln's success at Cooper Union strengthened his already large estimate of his own powers. It "stimulated his self-confidence to unwonted proportions."* To be sure, he realized that only a series of most favorable conditions could make him president, but he also realized that none of those conditions were impossible. As the Chicago Convention approached, he was alternately in hope and fear; and there were days when he would willingly have exchanged his uncertain hope for the certainty of a nomination as vice-president with Seward at the head of the ticket.

After the nomination, his mood was prevailingly a happy one. Practically every day he met enthusiastic delegations who gave him renewed assurance of the success of his campaign. Lincoln had little fear of defeat at the polls.

From the time of the Democratic split in the Baltimore Convention, Mr. Lincoln, as well as every other politician of the smallest sagacity, knew that his success was as certain as any future event could be.†

It has been alleged that the period between Lincoln's election and his departure for Washington was one of deep gloom. Certain of his friends, calling on him and finding him oppressed with a sense of the responsibilities which had come upon him, and wearied by the persistence of the office-seekers, and worried further by the fact that nearly all his neighbors appeared

*Herndon's *Lincoln*, iii, p. 457.
†Lamon, *Life of Lincoln*, p. 500.

suddenly to have become active in efforts to obtain positions for themselves or their relatives, near and remote, have given some ground for this impression, but that is not the impression which one receives who talks with the people who knew Lincoln best in those days. On the whole, he was cheerful, and at times even merry. A few evenings, after the visitors of the day had gone, he met with his old friends, and they exchanged jokes in all the freedom of the old days, and remembered him in the happy good humor of what must have been at that time his prevailing mood.*

Lincoln was a man of moods, and he went from gaiety to depression without warning and with little apparent occasion. It is not likely that he spent four months in Springfield after his election without some bad quarter-hours. But his prevailing mood was happy at this time. Lamon says that at this time "ambition charmed his whole heart" and that "hope elevated and joy brightened his crest."

Thurlow Weed, who was a most astute judge of men, after his second visit to Lincoln, said:

> While Mr. Lincoln never underestimated the difficulties which surrounded him, his nature was so elastic, and his temperament so cheerful, that he always seemed at ease and undisturbed.†

All in all, the president-elect at this time was a happy man. No one at this date will grudge to Abraham Lincoln the happiness of those days.

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*Professor Stephenson thinks that Lincoln was "firm as steel" until the day he refused to accept the Crittenden Compromise, but that that momentous decision brought its swift reaction, and that he became melancholy and irresolute, and lived his last months in Springfield in mingled gloom, desperation and a vain attempt to recover hope. I can find no evidence in support of this view.

†For this entire incident, see Weed's *Autobiography*.

CHAPTER XXXII

THE JOURNEY TO WASHINGTON

Most of the time of the president-elect after his election and before his removal to Washington, was taken up with people from out of town. Mrs. Lincoln accepted invitations to dine with her friends, and Lincoln now and then stole away for an evening with his old associates; but the days were mostly filled with other matters. As the time of their departure approached, Mrs. Lincoln endeavored to pay her social obligations. There was a children's party in the Lincoln home a few weeks before the departure of the family; some people now in Springfield cherish the invitations which they received as boys or girls, written in Mrs. Lincoln's own hand. And once, at least, and probably more than once, small groups of friends gathered in response to a neatly written invitation:

> Mr. and Mrs. Lincoln
> will be pleased to see you
> Thursday evening
> at 8 o'clock

A week before they left Springfield Mr. and Mrs. Lincoln gave a general reception to their old friends and neighbors. The Springfield papers, filled with national matters, do not give the affair adequate space; probably the Lincolns preferred that it be a sort of home affair; but the *Missouri Democrat,* of St. Louis, had a somewhat full account of what is called Mr. Lincoln's first levee after his election. It occurred on Wednesday evening,

February sixth, and the account was written on the following day.*

The first levee given by the President-elect, took place last evening, [Wednesday, February sixth] at his own residence, in this city, and it was a grand outpouring of citizens and strangers, together with the members of the legislature. Your humble servant was invited to attend. Mr. Lincoln threw open his house for a general reception of all the people who felt disposed to give him and his lady a parting call. The levee lasted from seven to twelve o'clock in the evening, and the house thronged by thousands up to a late hour. Mr. Lincoln received the guests as they entered and were made known. They then passed on, and were introduced to Mrs. Lincoln, who stood near the center of the parlors, and who, I must say, acquitted herself most gracefully and admirably—She was dressed plainly, but richly. She wore a beautiful, full trail, white moire antique silk, with a small French lace collar. Her neck was ornamented with a string of pearls. Her head dress was a simple and delicate vine, arranged with much taste. She displayed but little jewelry, and this was well and appropriately adjusted. She is a lady of fine figure and accomplished address, and is well calculated to grace and to do honors at the White House.

Mr. Lincoln rented his house to Mr. Tilton, Superintendent of the Wabash Railway, and spent the last week of his life in Springfield in the Chenery House. A change had become necessary, also, in Lincoln's office arrangements. The Legislature met early in December, and it was no longer convenient for Lincoln or the governor for him to occupy an office in the capitol building. Joel Johnson, an old friend, had recently erected some brick buildings on the northwest corner opposite the Chenery House, and he offered Lincoln the double parlors on the second floor as a reception-room. Lincoln gratefully accepted, and it was there that he received his guests from the first of December until the early part of February. Mr. Johnson's buildings later became the Revere House. The weeks flew by swiftly

Illinois State Historical Society Journal, ii, 1918-19, p. 386.

enough for the Lincoln family, but far too slowly for the welfare of the nation. Increasingly Lincoln felt the weight of his new responsibility; yet to some who saw him he seemed to realize it all too inadequately.

On the night before the departure from Springfield, Sunday, February tenth, Mr. Lincoln roped the family trunks with his own hands, took some of the hotel cards, and turning them over wrote upon them, "LINCOLN, EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON." These cards he tacked to the trunks and had them ready for transportation to the station early in the morning. Monday, February 11, 1861, dawned dark, cold and drizzly. Lincoln's friends and neighbors to a number which the reporters estimated at a thousand, gathered in and about the Wabash station. A special train stood waiting. At half past seven Lincoln and his family entered the dilapidated hotel bus and rode down to the station. There was a short farewell reception in the waiting-room. Lincoln stood silent for the most part, and shook hands with his neighbors and friends. Time did not permit his taking the hand of each. The ringing of the engine bell warned him and his family to go on board the train where the other members of the party awaited him. The press reports state that Lincoln was pale and seemed to be bearing up under deep emotion. The somberness of the weather was reflected in the demeanor of the assembled company. Gloom and depression of spirit were manifest on the faces of the whole company. The leave-taking was solemn. In after years, it seemed as though some premonition had been in everybody's mind, by no means excepting that of Mr. Lincoln. Mr. Lincoln disappeared, entering the front end of the rear car, but in a moment reappeared on the rear platform. In a voice that choked with emotion, and with tears filling his eyes, he delivered this last address to his old neighbors:

My friends: No one, not in my situation, can appreciate my feeling of sadness at this parting. To this place, and the kindness of these people, I owe everything. Here I have lived a

quarter of a century, and have passed from a young to an old man. Here my children have been born, and one is buried. I now leave, not knowing when or whether ever I may return, with a task before me greater than that which rested upon Washington. Without the assistance of that Divine Being who ever attended him, I cannot succeed. With that assistance, I cannot fail. Trusting in Him, who can go with me, and remain with you, and be everywhere for good, let us confidently hope that all will yet be well. To His care commending you as I hope in your prayers you will commend me, I bid you an affectionate farewell.*

The presidential party which made the whole journey, consisted of Mr. and Mrs. Lincoln, their three sons, Robert, William and Thomas, their brother-in-law, Doctor W. S. Wallace, the two secretaries, John G. Nicolay and John Hay, Lockwood Todd, Honorable Norman B. Judd, Honorable David Davis, J. M. Burgess, George C. Latham, W. S. Wood, B. Forbes, Colonel E. V. Sumner, Major David Hunter, Captain George W. Hazard, Captain John Pope, Colonel Ward Hill Lamon and Colonel Elmer E. Ellsworth. A considerable number of other men, including Senator O. H. Browning and Governor Richard Yates, accompanied the train when it left Springfield, and dropped off at Indianapolis or other places along the route. Personal friends and local committees joined the party from time to time, so that a considerable number of people first and last, were members of the presidential party. At all the important points along the road the train was scheduled to stop for a longer or shorter time to enable people to see and hear Lincoln.

Besides the advertised stops, the train was occasionally halted at a junction or to take water, and there, also, Lincoln had to appear and speak to the people who assembled about the station.

*The text of the address as here quoted is that which was prepared by Mr. Lincoln with the assistance of his secretary immediately after the train left Springfield. It differs slightly from the forms printed at the time, and is that which has been accepted by the Illinois State Historical Society for the Lincoln monument on the grounds of the capitol at Springfield. This form was first published by Nicolay and Hay in 1886, from the original manuscript and is the form which Lincoln approved, and is graven on the base of the statue in front of the Illinois State Capitol building.

If he had grown somewhat rumpled and untidy in appearance since the last stop, Mrs. Lincoln "fixed him up" before he went upon the platform, he lifting her to the car-seat to adjust his cravat and brush his hair a little. One of these unscheduled stops was at a railway junction near Lafayette, Indiana, six hours from Springfield, and Lincoln spoke of the contrast in speed between the time when he left Indiana in 1830 and that which his train was making. That can not have been the only contrast of which he was thinking. By day as he traveled and by night as he lay in luxurious quarters in hotels provided in the several cities where he spent the night, he must have thought much of the strange way by which he had come and of that which was now taking him to the White House.*

The journey of Lincoln to Washington occupied almost two weeks. There were scheduled stops in a number of important cities, including five state capitals where the Legislatures were in session. All these stops were in response to official invitations. Beside these, there were frequent wayside stops where Lincoln made brief addresses.

The first halt was at Indianapolis, on Monday afternoon, February eleventh. The Lincoln family was entertained at the Bates House, and Lincoln spoke from the balcony to a large assembly.

Next morning, Tuesday, February twelfth, was Lincoln's fifty-second birthday. His special train left Indianapolis at eleven o'clock in the morning and accomplished the run to Cincinnati in five hours and fifteen minutes. The weather was excellent, and there was a procession along decorated streets leading ultimately to the Burnett House, where the Lincoln family spent the night.

Lincoln in his address recalled the fact that he had spoken just once before in Cincinnati, and that in the year 1856, when he was on the stump for Frémont. On that previous occasion he had addressed no small portion of his remarks to the people of Kentucky; and being now at the southernmost point in his

*This little address is in *The Soul of Abraham Lincoln*, p. 385.

journey, he spoke again quite as much to the people south of the river as he did to those of Cincinnati.

On the morning of Wednesday, February thirteenth, he left Cincinnati, and arrived at Columbus where the Legislature was in session. He addressed the General Assembly and held a packed reception in which he attempted to shake hands with every one, but had to give it up, so great was the crowd. Here as everywhere he was met by a committee composed of leading citizens and officials. He spent that night in the governor's residence.

On Thursday, February fourteenth, he left Columbus at eight o'clock in the morning and reached Pittsburgh in a pouring rain which interfered much with the program. It was announced, however, that he would speak next morning at eight o'clock, and leave at eleven.

On Friday, February fifteenth, Lincoln delivered an address in Pittsburgh and left for Cleveland, where the night was spent in the Weddell House. What Lincoln said in Cleveland is typical of his addresses on this tour. He avoided a technical discussion of national issues and endeavored to allay excitement. He said:

I am convinced that the cause of Liberty and the Union can never be in danger. Frequent allusion is made to the excitement at present existing in our national politics. It is well that I should also allude to it here. I think there is no occasion for any excitement. The crisis, as it is called, is altogether an artificial crisis. In all parts of the nation there are differences of opinion on politics. There are differences of opinion even here. You did not all vote for the person who now addresses you. A large number of you did—enough for all practical purposes—but not all of you. Farther away there were fewer who voted for me, and their numbers decreased as they got farther away. What is happening now will not hurt those who are farther away from here. Have they not all the rights now that they ever had? Do they not have their fugitive slaves returned as ever? Have they not the same Constitution that they have lived under for the last seventy-odd years? Have they not a position as citizens of this common country, and have we any power to change that position? What then is the matter with them? Why all this ex-

citement? Why all these complaints? As I said before, this crisis is all artificial. It has no foundation in facts. It was not argued up, as the saying is, and cannot therefore be argued down. Let it alone, and it will go down of itself.

This speech and others like it must indicate either that Lincoln was deliberately avoiding the facing of the issue, or that he did not realize how serious the situation actually was. The crisis was very much more severe than any word of Lincoln's in the early part of his journey would indicate. It is probable that to some extent he was moved by the great demonstrations in his favor and gave to them a more hopeful interpretation than they deserved.

On Saturday, February sixteenth, Mr. Lincoln left Cleveland and arrived in Buffalo. At a small station an incident occurred which was much commented upon at the time, and is worth recalling as it was reported in the daily press:

At North East station a flag inscribed "Fort Sumter" was carried right up where Mr. Lincoln stood, but he did not seem to take the hint, and made no allusion to it in his few remarks. At the same station Mr. Lincoln took occasion to state that during the campaign he had received a letter from a young girl of this place, in which he was kindly admonished to do certain things, and among others to let his whiskers grow, and that, as he had acted upon that piece of advice, he would now be glad to welcome his fair correspondent, if she was among the crowd. In response to his call, a little lassie made her way through the crowd, was helped to the platform, and kissed by the President.*

In the several capital cities Lincoln was greeted by governors and high officials. In Buffalo the reception committee was headed by ex-President Fillmore. In that city the party spent Sunday, and was glad of a day of rest. Lincoln's addresses had been brief, but there had been many of them, and he was weary and growing hoarse.

New York Herald, Sunday, February 17, 1861.

By this time Mr. Lincoln had had opportunity to get some reaction from the impression which his speeches were making on the country. Some papers were disposed to speak kindly of his wayside addresses, but few, if any, were enthusiastic. James Gordon Bennett, of the *New York Herald,* was frankly antagonistic, and his criticism of Lincoln's addresses, which the *Herald* denominated "drippings from the inaugural" was on the whole less caustic than might have been expected. It said,

Abraham Lincoln, as President elect of the United States, is in a fair way to lose that high reputation which he gained in his Illinois stumping campaign of 1858 with Judge Douglas, as a candidate for the United States Senate. Since his departure from Springfield, *en route* for the White House, he has made several little speeches, but in none of them has he manifested the disposition or the capacity to grapple manfully with the dangers of this crisis in reference to the restoration of the Union, or the maintenance of the peace of the country. . . . If Mr. Lincoln has nothing better to offer upon this fearful crisis than the foolish consolations of his speech at Columbus, let him say nothing at all.

On Monday, February eighteenth, the party moved on to Albany. Here Lincoln was greeted by Governor Morgan. Here also, he met the most prominent officials of New York State and an important delegation which came from the city of New York. The impression which he appears to have made at Albany was that he was less saintly and more shrewd than had commonly been reported. The impression that he was a good-natured man without force began to yield a little to the conviction that Lincoln possessed some elements of strength of character. The reporter for the *New York Herald* who accompanied the expedition generally reflected in his daily story the known sentiment of the editorial columns, but as the train neared New York, he gave the following impression of the personality of Lincoln:

Towering above all, with his face and forehead furrowed by

a thousand wrinkles, his hair unkempt, his new whiskers looking as if not yet naturalized, his clothing illy arranged, Mr. Lincoln sat near the rear of the saloon car. Putting prejudice aside, no one can see Mr. Lincoln without recognizing in him a man of immense power and force of character and natural talent. He seems so sincere, so conscientious, so simple hearted, that no one can help liking him and esteeming any disparagement of his ability or desire to do right, as a personal insult.

This was a courageous bit of writing on the part of the *Herald* reporter, and, violently opposed to Lincoln as Bennett was, he printed the tribute as it was written.

Lincoln could not fail to realize a difference in the atmosphere in Albany from that which he had experienced in the capitals of Indiana and Ohio. Republican New York had been for Seward, and was not yet reconciled to his defeat; but New York as a whole was not Republican. Governor Morgan was then and throughout the war, one of Lincoln's strongest opponents, and Fernando Wood, Mayor of New York City, was a Democrat of the deepest dye.

Part of the way from Buffalo to Albany "the Prince of Rails" as some of the newspapers now called Mr. Lincoln, rode upon the engine. It is recorded that he expressed himself as highly gratified by the experience.

On Monday, February 18, 1861, while Abraham Lincoln was in Albany, doing his best to make a good impression upon the Legislature of New York State, Jefferson Davis was inaugurated president of the Confederate States of America, at Montgomery, Alabama. Lincoln was aware of this event while he was receiving a measured courtesy in Albany. He had opportunity to read about it next day as he was on his way to New York City.

He also had opportunity to read in the columns of the *Herald* a categorical demand that Mr. Lincoln should devote himself immediately to patching up a peace with the seceded states, calling a special session of Congress to pass an amendment to the

Constitution such as the South would approve, and filling not a single office, except his Cabinet, until such a constitutional amendment was assured of adoption.

The *Herald* further inquired in a leaded editorial,

What will Mr. Lincoln do when he arrives? What will he say to the citizens of this great metropolis? Will he kiss our girls, and give a twirl to the whiskers which he has begun to cultivate? Will he tell our merchants, groaning under the pressure of the greatest political convulsion ever experienced in America that "nobody is hurt" or that "marching troops into South Carolina" and bombarding its fortresses is "no invasion"?

The *Herald* editorial of the following day says:

The masses of the people did not turn out. There was a faint cheer as Mr. Lincoln entered his carriage at the railway station, but none of those spontaneous movements for which our people are noted.

The celebration arranged for Lincoln in New York City was the most imposing anywhere along the route; New York would have been content with nothing less; but in no other city had there been such manifest coldness, and Lincoln must have left it with a distinct chill.

On Wednesday, February twentieth, Lincoln arrived in Trenton. The New Jersey Legislature was in session and he visited both Houses. It was in his address before the New Jersey Legislature that he spoke of the marked influence upon his own boyhood of his reading the story of the battles of the Revolutionary War, and especially, of his early profit in the use of Weems' *Life of Washington.*

On Thursday, February twenty-first, Lincoln arrived in Philadelphia. On the following morning he visited Independence Hall, and raised a flag over the building where the Declaration of Independence was signed. By this time Lincoln had a greatly

deepened sense of the solemnity of his undertaking. He had been informed of a plot to assassinate him on the way to Washington. To this plot he made reference in his address that morning:

All the political sentiments I entertain have been drawn, so far as I have been able to draw them, from the sentiments which originated in, and were given to the world from, this hall. I never had a feeling, politically, that did not spring from the sentiments embodied in the Declaration of Independence. . . . It was not the mere matter of the separation of the colonies from the mother-land, but that *sentiment* in the Declaration of Independence, which gave liberty not alone to the people of this country, but I hope to the world, for all future time. It was that which gave promise that, in due time, the weight would be lifted from the shoulders of men. This is the sentiment embodied in the Declaration of Independence. Now, my friends, can this country be saved upon that basis? If it can, I will consider myself one of the happiest men in the world, if I can help to save it. If it cannot be saved upon that principle, it will be truly awful! But if this country cannot be saved without giving up the principle, I was about to say: *"I would rather be assassinated on the spot,* than surrender it." . . . I have said nothing but what I am willing to live by, and if it be the pleasure of Almighty God, to die by.

Before leaving Springfield, Lincoln took the manuscript of his Inaugural Address to the office of the *Journal,* and had it put in type, in order that he might have copies for use in obtaining the advice of friends. So far as known, however, he did not part with more than one copy at a time, nor leave any copy permanently out of his possession. He appears to have carried all his eggs in one basket. He had the address in a satchel, which was mislaid at Harrisburg. When a satchel which Lincoln thought he recognized as his was found his key opened it, but it was found to contain a soiled shirt, some paper collars, a pack of cards and a bottle of whisky nearly full, none of which articles belonged in Lincoln's bag. Finally, his own

bag was found, much to Lincoln's relief; for Lamon declares that he never saw Lincoln so annoyed, perplexed and angry as he was when he thought the bag was lost, and that the finding of the bag with the whisky produced a laugh that restored his good humor. The finding of Lincoln's own satchel brought him back his "certificate of moral character, written by himself."

Why did Lincoln, on his way to Washington, content himself with the utterance of platitudes? Why did he not utter some really great message to each assembled crowd? The trip was admirably planned for effective speech-making. In five great states, Indiana, Ohio, New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, Legislatures were in session; and from each of these bodies Lincoln received and accepted invitations to address their Houses in joint session. Five short speeches, each uttering some one strong and reassuring paragraph would not have been too much for an orator like Lincoln. The cities of Cleveland, New York and Philadelphia all offered exceptional opportunities to influence the thought of the nation. Judged by the effect, we cannot affirm that in any one of these places Lincoln rose to the full opportunity offered by the occasion. At Cincinnati he spoke to the people across the Ohio River; there more than anywhere else he seemed aware of his opportunity. Why did he not rise to it in other cities?

The answer doubtless is twofold. First, Lincoln did not fully realize the seriousness of the crisis, nor the importance of his wayside utterances. Secondly, Lincoln was reserving his message to be incorporated in his Inaugural Address. Into that address he had put his very best endeavor, and he was yet to change it after consulting Seward and other influential friends. Lincoln's habitual caution prevented his saying anything which he might have occasion to modify, or speaking as president while another man sat in the presidential chair. Hence the newspapers failed to find in his addresses *en route* any great statesmanlike affirmations such as they might have desired to discover in the words of a president-elect.

Lincoln left Philadelphia at half past nine on the morning of Washington's birthday and arrived at Harrisburg, the capital of Pennsylvania, where he was greeted by the Legislature. There he delivered his last address *en route*. There, also, he received what appeared to be confirmation of the rumor that there was a plot to assassinate him as he passed through Baltimore. He left the special train and the presidential party at Harrisburg, and, acting on advice which he believed to be valid, made a night journey to Washington. Concerning this trip, there has been much discussion, and it is claimed by some and denied by others, that Lincoln regretted having entered Washington in the way he did. The reports of his disguise were all fabricated, but the utmost secrecy was maintained concerning his withdrawal from the party and the manner and time of his arrival in Washington. His only companions on this last lap of his journey were Colonel Ward Hill Lamon and Allan Pinkerton. The entire party returned together from Harrisburg to Philadelphia, where at midnight Lincoln and his two associates took their berths in a sleeping-car of the regular train from New York. They arrived in Washington at six o'clock on the morning of Saturday, February twenty-third. They were met in the station by Honorable E. B. Washburne, who conducted them to the Willard Hotel, where a little later they were joined at breakfast by William H. Seward. Late that evening Lincoln's family arrived, having encountered no sign of danger or any incivility as they passed through Baltimore.

There had been no plan for a public entry into Washington. In that city the celebration was to occur more than a week later. It had been planned from the beginning that the arrival of the Lincoln party should be without formality, but no one had contemplated so humiliating an end of a journey that had been on the whole one of such triumph. The comments of the newspapers in many instances were not flattering, and some caricatures held the president-elect up to ridicule as a man of faint heart. For this charge there was no justification. Lincoln ac-

cepted the advice of responsible men, who believed the danger to be real. Lincoln was a man of prudence, but he was never a coward.

The journey of the special train upon Saturday was a sad ending of what had been a spectacular journey. From Harrisburg to Baltimore and on to Washington, people continued to gather, curious to see the president-elect. It became necessary to tell the crowds that Mr. Lincoln was not on the train. The crowds could scarcely credit the statement, and those who had to make the announcement from time to time did it with very little joy or pride. They invented the best excuse they could think of; important business had suddenly called Mr. Lincoln to Washington; but the members of the presidential party made this statement with little liking, and when the train arrived in Baltimore and there was no demonstration of an adverse character, the feeling of resentment grew against those who had advised the president to desert the party and slip into Washington in such undignified fashion. However the journey ended and Mrs. Lincoln and the children reached Willard's Hotel that night. The Lincoln family was reunited and glad enough that this part of the performance was well over.

A full week and more intervened between Lincoln's arrival and the service of inauguration. It was a solemn week. If Lincoln left home with something less than a realizing sense of the gravity of the situation, and if the enthusiasm of his greetings along the way did something to encourage in him a false sense of security, a week in Washington left him with no possible illusion as to the gravity of the situation confronting him and the nation. Secession was an accomplished fact, and civil war was about to begin. What qualities, what training had Abraham Lincoln to fit him to cope with so desperate a situation? The nation and the world asked that question, and Lincoln himself must have given it most solemn consideration in that ominous week.

Stephen A. Douglas was in Washington, busy in many mat-

ters relating to those perplexing times. He was loyal to Lincoln and the government. But now and then the oddity of the situation came over him, a sense of the absurdity of the election of a man like Lincoln to the presidency which Douglas had himself so long aspired to attain. He, also, took a journey, and then returned to Washington. In the days of his debate with Lincoln, Douglas traveled on a special train with a flat car attached, carrying a brass cannon, while Lincoln rode in the day coach. Now Lincoln was traveling in state, while Douglas was on the regular train. But some luxury was granted to Douglas; he had the comfort of a berth in a sleeping-car, then a relatively new and crude affair; and he had also a bottle of liquor. Lying in his berth, half awake, and less than half sober, he thought over the incongruity of the situation, and burst out at length into uproarious laughter: "Abe Lincoln, President of the United States! Good lord! Abe Lincoln, President of the United States!"

APPENDIX

I. JESSE HEAD

ABRAHAM LINCOLN lived and died without knowing where the marriage record of his parents could be found. He had never had occasion to inquire about it while his parents were living, and when he emerged into prominence it was too late. His mother died in 1818 and his father in 1851. When, in 1860, he found occasion to inquire about it, the record was not found in Hardin County, Kentucky, where he was born and where he supposed his parents were married. His inquiries resulted only in starting unpleasant rumors, and these were long in finding disproof. One important step in the proving of the chastity of Lincoln's mother, though not the only or the final one, was the discovery, in 1878, of a marriage return, in Washington County, Kentucky, certifying that Thomas Lincoln and Nancy Hanks were married, June 12, 1806, by the Reverend Jesse Head, a deacon in the Methodist Episcopal Church.

But who was Jesse Head? Doctor J. M. Buckley, editor of *The Christian Advocate,* made diligent inquiry thirty years ago and discovered a grandson of Jesse Head, the Reverend E. B. Head, then serving on the Lawrenceburg circuit in Anderson County, Kentucky. Some information was obtained from him and others, but it left much room for research.

The Christian Advocate on May 25, 1882 (p. 322), presented full proof of the identity of Jesse Head. Doctor Buckley then wrote: "The following points may be considered as for ever settled: 1. There was such a man as Jesse Head, a local deacon in the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1806. 2. The Reverend Jesse Head was at no time nor in any place a member of an

Annual Conference, or duly admitted on trial in any Conference, and therefore, notwithstanding his long and honorable career, he escaped all record in Methodism."

Despite the facts brought out by *The Christian Advocate* there were those who affirmed that there never had been such a man as Jesse Head; that the whole record was a fraud, of modern creation, made seventy years after the events described, and intended to falsify history by fraudulent documentary proof of the legitimacy of Abraham Lincoln. For a good while it seemed unlikely that we should ever learn anything very definite about Jesse Head. It now is possible to write his life history.

Jesse Head was born in Frederick County, Maryland, June 10, 1768, son of William Edward Head, a Revolutionary soldier. He was married, January 9, 1789, to Jane Ramsey, daughter of Robert and Susannah Ramsey, of Bedford County, Pennsylvania. She was born April 10, 1768. The young couple removed to Washington County, Kentucky, and located near Springfield, the county-seat. He was a cabinet-maker by trade. He had a farm of fifty-four acres on Road Run, near to the Berrys and Lincolns. It is probable that his being a neighbor was the occasion of their calling him to solemnize the marriage of Thomas Lincoln and Nancy Hanks, for both the Lincolns and Hankses were Baptists. He probably located in Kentucky about 1796. His name is not in the Washington County tax list for 1795, but is there in 1797, in 1800, 1801, 1803 and 1805. The intermediate lists and many subsequent lists have perished. He was in Washington County until 1810. He became a justice of the peace, his service beginning January 6, 1798. He became a trustee of the town of Springfield, April 3, 1802, and chairman of that board June 10, 1803. His last signed document in Washington County is a court order as justice of the peace, October 10, 1810. His work as a carpenter included the erection of stocks and a whipping-post and pillory at the Washington County court-house.

But what about his ecclesiastical standing? On October 2,

1805, was held at Anthony Houston's in Scott County, Kentucky, a meeting of the Western Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Bishop Asbury presided. A list was reported of the deacons and local preachers of the conference, and among the former was recorded the name of Jesse Head. This is the one known record, and this recently discovered, which shows his ecclesiastical status in the records of any conference. But this was not the beginning of his career as a Methodist deacon. Honorable L. S. Pence, of Lebanon, Kentucky, discovered a book of "court martials" of men reported as delinquent in militia duty, and on May 25, 1798, it was recorded that Jesse Head was cleared of delinquency, "he having a license to preach, according to the rules of the church to which he belongs."

The records of that period are, of course, fragmentary and meager; but these two certify to the standing of Jesse Head from 1798 on.

Among the Draper manuscripts in the library of the University of Wisconsin is a letter of General Robert B. McAfee, of November 25, 1845, in which he states that the famous Harrodsburg Springs were discovered, in 1806, by Reverend Jesse Head, a Methodist minister. This letter was written long before Jesse Head was known in connection with the marriage of the Lincolns. The year 1806, in which this discovery of the Springs is said to have been made, is the same in which Jesse Head married the Lincolns. Four years later, in 1810, Jesse Head moved to Harrodsburg, and there he lived for thirty-two years. He died March 22, 1842; and his wife died August 30, 1851. They were buried in their own yard in Harrodsburg, but after some years their bodies were removed to the Harrodsburg cemetery. Their graves were unmarked, and were in danger of becoming unknown; but recently they have been identified, and on November 2, 1922, a simple and appropriate monument with bronze tablet was erected above their graves.

Jesse Head was an editor, a straight old-fashioned Democrat. The story that he inculcated abolition principles in Thomas and

Nancy Lincoln is without foundation, but he was a friend to colored people and had influence with them.

He did not accumulate money. Twice he would have been sold out at sheriff's sale but for the kindness of his son. Once all his furniture was exposed for sale and the other time his house. They were all bidden in by local parties, for his son, then living in Washington, D. C. This dutiful son provided a home for his parents while they lived.

The Misses Mary A. and Martha Stephenson have dug deep into the dust of ancient records in Harrodsburg to learn for me all that may be found about Jesse Head. Among the rest, they have found the court orders of these sales, made to George M. Head, and they enable us to learn just what were the worldly goods and chattels of Jesse Head.

He owned three beds, one valued at $10, one at $7.50 and one at $7.25. There was a toilet glass at which he shaved, and it was bid in at $1.12½. There was a folding table, of his own workmanship, which brought $2.12½. There was "a lott of cupboardware," $3.25; six plates, 25 cents; tinware and coffee mill, 62½ cents; two small tables, 25 cents; a pair of andirons, 50 cents. There was a bookcase which brought $5, and a small table which brought $1. There were pots and pans and "kittles" and skillets and tongs and spinning wheel which need not here be separately priced. He owned a horse, the value of which was $15.25, as determined by the highest bid, a spotted cow and a red cow and calf, each of which brought $6.25. He had a "waggon" which was found to be worth $11.25.

He had some books, a good many for a man of his station and financial ability. He had seven volumes of the sermons of John Wesley and two volumes of Wesley's Notes. He had Fletcher's Works in three volumes, and several volumes of church history. His library, sold book by book, brought $16.74½. His whole personal property brought $114.30. His son bid all this in. No single item appears to have been sold outside.

There was a sale at the court-house door. The sheriff came to the home of Jesse Head and loaded the $11.25 "waggon," hitched up to it the $15.25 horse, and led the red cow and the spotted cow behind, and took them to the court-house door and sold them under the hammer. But there appears to have been no competition. Every one appears to have understood that Jesse Head's son intended to buy these articles, and to have a bill of sale made out to him, and to send the goods back for the use of his parents so long as they lived. So after a time, they all came back, the red cow and calf, and the spotted cow and the horse and "waggon" and the tongs and "kittles" and spinning wheel and the rest, and the books which were the old man's pride. And I imagine that Jesse Head and his wife knelt down in the midst of their house that had been left to them desolate and thanked God for a faithful son. In like manner the house was kept from being sold above their heads, and they had a home as long as they lived.

So far as any record has been found, Jesse Head was never ordained an elder, but held his deacon's orders through life, and signed his marriage returns, of which there are many, "Jesse Head, D.M.E.C.," which meant "Deacon in the Methodist Episcopal Church." He was never pastor of the Methodist Church in Harrodsburg, nor is there any record of his having founded a Methodist church in any other city, though that claim has been made for him. His grandson thought that he was an intimate friend of Methodist bishops, but if this is the case, no record is found of it. If he ever attended an Annual Conference we do not know it. But he maintained his standing as a deacon, and was proud of his membership in the Methodist Church. He was fond of controversy, was a hard hitter, and made enemies and warm friends. He was a man of courage and fidelity. There is no reason to suppose that concerning slavery he was in advance of his generation; indeed, there is the best of reason to suppose that he was not. He was the owner of a negro woman and her children, the negress being a cook and maid of all work

for Mrs. Head, until his poverty compelled him to part with her and with most of his property. He was a good fighter, a courageous pioneer preacher. He was not widely known in his own day, and owes his fame solely to the accident of his having married, among scores of obscure couples, one for whom was reserved the distinction of distinguished parenthood. But he and the men like him deserve high honor for their zeal, their integrity, their contribution to the welfare of a new society. He was one of a considerable number of local preachers and exhorters and deacons who, never attaining to any clerical distinction, do their work faithfully and well. Methodism has a right to claim Jesse Head, and to remember that he was one among many of her faithful preachers in the days of the pioneers. But he belongs in no exclusive sense to any one sect. He is a worthy representative of a goodly group of humble, honest and most useful men, the pioneer preachers.

II. AN AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL LETTER

This letter, containing important data concerning the Hanks family, was written by Dennis F. Hanks for William H. Herndon, and preserved in the Library of the University of Chicago.

Aprial the 2d 1866

Dennis F Hanks was Born in Hardin County on the tributary branch of the South fork of Nolin on the old Richard Creal farm in the old peach orchard in a Log Cabin 3 miles from Hogins Vill thence we moved to Murcur County and Staid there a Bout 3 years and Moved Back a gain to the same place and there Remained untill we moved to Spencer County Indiana this was I think in the year 1816 if my Memory serves me Rite My mother and Abes mothers mother was sisters My mothers Name was Nancy Hanks Abes Grand Mother was Lucy Hanks which was my mothers Sister the woman that raised me was Elizabeth Sparow the Sister of Lucy and Nancy The other Sister hir Name was polly Friend So you see that there was 4 sisters that was Hankses

I Have No Letter from my friends yet I Dont No the Reason

Bily did you write to William Hall in Misouri Frankford I think he coul tell you sumthing that would Be Rite He is my half Brother try him

William I have seen a Book which states that Lincolns was Quakers I say this is mis take They was Baptist all this talk about their Religious talk is a humbug they try to make them out Puritins This is Not the case

You asked me what sort of songs or Intress Abe tuck part in I will say this anything that was Lively He never would sing any Religious Songs it apered to me that it Did not souit him But for a man to preach a Sermond he would Lissin to with great Atention

Did you find out from Richard Creal if He lived on the place whare A Lincoln was Born or Not I am gowing there in May to Visit my Birth place the 15th of May this is my Birth Day 1799 it has Ben 48 years Sence

Any thing you want to No Let it Cum your friend

D. F. Hanks

My first School Master was By the Name Warden taught School at the old Baptist church on Nolin nere Brunks farm at the Big Spring Down in a Deepe hollow Close By the House

III. NEW SALEM ELECTIONS

The Illinois State Historical Society has the Poll Books of New Salem during the half dozen years when it was a voting precinct. A number of them are in Lincoln's handwriting. The following are the summaries of these elections, with records of the vote and official service of Abraham Lincoln:

A Pole Book of an election held in Clarys Grove Precinct on the first day of August 1831 at the house of John M. Cameron in New Salem to elect one Representative to Congress; two magistrates and two constables in the above mentioned Precinct.

Abraham Lincoln voted for James Turney for congress, Robert Conover for Magistrate, Pollard Simmons for Magistrate, John Armstrong for constable, Henry Sinco for Constable.

At an election held at the house of John McNeil in the New Salem precinct in the county of Sangamon and State of Illinois on the 20th day of September in the year of our Lord one

thousand eight hundred and thirty two the following named persons received the number of votes annexed to their respective names for constable.

John Clary had Forty-one votes for constable
John R. Herndon had Twenty-two votes for constable.
William McNeely had Thirteen votes for constable.
Baxter B. Berry had nine votes for constable
Edmund Greer had four votes for constable

Samuel Rutledge
Hugh Armstrong } Judges of the election.
James White

Attest A. Lincoln
William Green } Clerks of the election

I certify that the above Judges and Clerks were qualified according to law, September 20, 1832. Bowling Green J. P.

I certify that the Judges and Clerks this election was duly qualified.

Bowling Green
Nov. 5th 1832. J. P.

At an election held at the house of Samuel Hill in the New Salem precinct in the county of Sangamon and State of Illinois on the fifth day of November in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and thirty-two the following named persons received the number of votes annexed to their respective names for the following described offices (to wit)

Daniel Stookey had one hundred and eighty-five votes for elector of President and Vice President.

Abner Flack had one hundred and eighty-five votes for elector of President and Vice President.

James Evans had one hundred and eighty-five votes for elector of President and Vice President.

Adam Dunlap had one hundred and eighty-five votes for elector of President and Vice President.

John C. Alexander had one hundred and eighty-five votes for elector of President and Vice President.

William B. Archer had seventy votes for elector of President and Vice President.

Leonard White had seventy votes for elector of President and Vice President.

James B. Moore had Seventy votes for elector of President and Vice President.

Elijah Iles had seventy votes for elector of President and Vice President.

Pierre Menard had seventy votes for elector of President and Vice President.

James Rutledge
Bowling Green
Hugh Armstrong } Judges of the election

A. Lincoln
William Green } Clerks of the election

Lincoln voted for....
William B. Archer
Leonard White
James B. Moore
Elijah Iles
Pierre Menard

At an election held at the house of William F. Berry the New Salem precinct in the county of Sangamon and State of Illinois on the fifth day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and thirty four the following named persons received the number of votes annexed to their respective names for the following described office to wit.

Garrett Elkin had eighty-four votes for Sheriff.
David Dickinson had seventy seven votes for Sheriff
Zachariah Peter had four votes for Sheriff.

Certified by us.

Bowling Green
Hugh Armstrong
David Whray } Judges of the election

Attest A. Lincoln
Mentor Graham } Clerks of the election.

I certify that Hugh Armstrong, David Whray, Mentor Graham and A. Lincoln were qualified by me according to law as Judges and Clerks of the election. Bowling Green J. P.

I certify that Bowling Green was qualified by me according to law as Judge of the election.

Mentor Graham.

Abraham Lincoln voted for David Dickson for Sheriff
New Salem Precinct, Poll list August 4, 1834.

At an election held at the house of William F. Berry in the New Salem precinct in the County of Sangamon and State of Illinois on the twenty-seventh day of October in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and thirty four the following named persons received the number of votes annexed to their respective names for the following described offices (to wit)

William L. May had Seventy two votes for Representative to Congress,

James Turney had one vote for Representative to Congress.

Benjamin Mills had three votes for Representative to Congress. Certified by us

James Pantier
Pollard Simmons } Judges of the election
William Jones

Attest A. Lincoln
Mentor Graham } Clerks of the election.

I certify that the Judges and Clerks of this election was sworn according to law, New Salem October 27, 1834.

Bowling Green J. P.

and John Clary served as constable.

Lincoln voted for William L. May.

At an election held at the house of N. Alley in the New Salem Precinct in the county of Sangamon and State of Illinois on the third day of August in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and thirty five, the following named persons received the number of votes annexed to their respective names for the following described offices to wit.

John Calhoun had ninety-eight votes for State Senator in place of E. D. Taylor. Resigned.

A. J. Herndon had seventy-seven votes for State Senator in place of E. D. Taylor. Resigned.

Peter Cartwright had fifty three votes for State Senator in place of George Forquer. Resigned.

Job Fletcher had one hundred and twenty-votes for State Senator in place of George Forquer. Resigned.

Edward Mitchell had twenty-eight votes for County Recorder.

William Herndon had thirty-eight votes for County Recorder.

James Campbell had one vote for County Recorder.

Benjamin Tabott had thirty three votes for County Recorder.

Andy Orr had nine votes for County Recorder.

William L. Fowkes had one vote for County Recorder.

Martin M. Morgan had twenty-one votes for County Recorder.

Thomas M. Neale had one hundred and twenty-nine votes for County Surveyor.

Reuben Harrison had thirty-eight votes for County Surveyor.

Parnell Hamilton had three votes for County Surveyor.

William G. Cantrill had thirty-eight votes for County Commissioner.

William Statts had ninety-four votes for County Commissioner.

Young McLemon had one vote for County Commissioner.

David Newsom had two votes for County Commissioner.

Peter G. Cawardin had thirteen votes for County Commissioner.

I. Langston had thirty-three votes for Coroner.

George W. Dickinson had two votes for Coroner.

Joseph H. Shepherd had fourteen votes for Coroner.

Boracha Dunn had thirteen votes for Coroner.

Bowling Green had one hundred twenty-one votes for Justice of the Peace.

Robert Conover had seventy-five votes for Justice Peace.

Thomas Wynne had one hundred and two votes for Justice Peace.

Samuel Combs had forty-three votes for Justice Peace.

Hugh Armstrong had one hundred and twenty-seven votes for Constable.

Jesse Shirley had seventeen votes for Constable.

Bennett Abell had Seventy-two votes for Constable.

Samuel B. Neely had thirty seven votes for constable.

John Duncan had fifty-three votes for constable.

Asa Combs had thirty-eight votes for Constable.

A. Lincoln voted for John Calhoun for Senator, Voted for Job Fletcher for Senator. Voted for Thomas M. Neale for County Surveyor.

Voted for Edward Mitchell for County Recorder. Voted for William Statts County Commissioner. Voted for I. Langston for Coroner. Voted for Bowling Green for Justice of the Peace. Voted for Robert Conover for Justice of the Peace. Voted for Hugh Armstrong for Constable. Voted for Asa Combs for Constable.

Precinct in the County of Sangamon State of Illinois. At an election held at New Salem on Monday the 1st day of August one thousand and thirty six, the following named persons received the number of votes annexed to their names for the following described offices viz.

John T. Stuart had eighty-six votes for representative to Congress.

William L. May had fifty-nine votes for representative to Congress.

Job Fletcher had seventy-three votes for State Senator.

Moses K. Anderson had sixty-seven votes for State Senator.

Ninian W. Edwards had eighty-four votes for State Representative.

Dan Stove had eighty-one votes for Representative.

A. Lincoln had one hundred and seven votes for representative.

John Dawson had eighty-two votes for representative.

William F. Elkin had eighty-four votes for representative.

R. L. Wilson had sixty-nine votes for representative.

Andrew McCormick had sixty-seven votes for representative.

Aaron Vandever had forty-seven votes for representative.

John L. Thompson had none.

John Clahoun had sixty-two votes for representative.

Jacob M. Early had fifty-nine votes for representative.

Michael Mann had thirty-nine votes for representative.

Richard Quinton had fifty-six votes for representative.

George Power had fifty-four votes for representative.

Thomas Wynne had seventy-one votes for representative.

Thomas Young had three votes for representative.

James Baker had none.

William G. Cantrill had forty-four votes for County Commissioner.

William Hickman had forty-five votes for County Commissioner.

Christopher B. Stafford had sixty votes for County Commissioner.

Thomas J. Nance had one hundred and nine votes for County Commissioner. James Pantier had sixty-two votes for County Commissioner.

Zachariah Peter had seventy-two votes for County Commissioner.

John Kelley had two votes for County Commissioner.
Garrett Elkin had eighty votes for Sheriff.
Edmund Taylor had sixty votes for Sheriff.
Jackson Langston had forty odd votes for Coroner.
S. C. Hampton had none, for Coroner.
David W. Clark had thirty-five votes for Coroner.
Certified by us

James Black
Jesse Mallby
Andrew Beane
} Judges of the election

Attest. Mentor Graham
Charles J. F. Clarke
} Clerks of the election.

I certify that the foregoing Judges and Clerks was Duly Sworn according to Law. New Salem August 1, 1836.
Bowling Green J. P.

In this election of August 1, 1836, in the list of voters I do not find that Abraham Lincoln voted. There is a name that follows that of Bowling Greene, which looks like Abraham Seward, and I have endeavored to make it read Abraham Lincoln, especially as I find no Abraham Seward in other New Salem elections, but it does not look like the name Lincoln.

At an election held at the house of Caleb Carman in the New Salem Precinct on the 7th day of November A. D., one thousand eight hundred and thirty-six for the purpose of electing electors to vote for a President and Vice president of the United States of America; the following named persons received the number of votes annexed to their respective names.

J. D. Whiteside had for elector thirty-four votes.
Samuel Leach had for elector thirty-four votes.
John Pearson had for elector thirty-four votes.
John Wyate had for elector thirty-four votes.
J. Hackleton had for elector thirty-four votes.
Benjamin Bond had for elector sixty-five votes.
J. A. Whiteside had for elector sixty-five votes.
Levan Lane had for elector sixty-five votes.
A. G. Wight had for elector sixty-five votes.
John Henry had for elector sixty-five votes.

Certified to, by us.

Jas Black
Jas Golds by
Elijah Houghton
} Judges of the above election.

Attest
Mentor Graham
Thomas I. Nance
} Clerks of the above election.

I do certify that the above Judges and Clerks were legally sworn according to law by me.

Bowling Green
November 7, 1836. J. P.

Lincoln voted for Benjamin Bond, J. A. Whiteside, A. G. Wight, Levan Lane, John Henry.

IV. LINCOLN IN THE LEGISLATURE

The following data, from the *Blue Book of Illinois,* gives the dates on which the General Assembly convened and adjourned during Lincoln's membership in that body:

8th General Assembly 1832-1834, Convened at Vandalia, December 3, 1832. Adjourned March 2, 1833.

9th General Assembly, 1834-1836.

First session convened at Vandalia December 1, 1834; adjourned March 6, 1837. Second session July 10, 1837; adjourned July 22, 1837.

10th General Assembly, 1836-1838.

First Session convened at Vandalia December 5, 1836; adjourned July 22, 1837.

11th General Assembly, 1838-1840.

First session at Vandalia, December 3, 1838; adjourned March 4, 1839. Second session convened at Springfield, December 9, 1839; Adjourned February 3, 1840.

12th General Assembly, 1840-1842.

First session convened at Springfield November 23, 1840; Adjourned December 5, 1840. Second session December 7, 1840; Adjourned March 1, 1841.

V. LINCOLN'S ATTENDANCE IN 1841

The following is compiled for me by Miss Georgia L. Osborne, Assistant Librarian of the Illinois State Historical Society, and shows the attendance of Lincoln at the session of the General Assembly of Illinois for the term of 1840-41, as recorded in the House Journal, from "the fatal first of January" until the adjournment of the session.

Present	Jan.	1st,	1841	
"	"	2nd,	"	Jan. 3rd, was Sunday
"	"	5th,	"	(Tuesday)
"	"	6th,	"	
"	"	7th,	"	
"	"	8th,	"	
"	"	9th,	"	Jan. 10th, Sunday
"	"	11th,	"	
"	"	12th,	"	Jan. 17th, Sunday
"	"	19th,	"	(Present in the morning)
"	"	21st,	"	
"	"	22nd,	"	
"	"	23rd,	"	Jan. 24th, Sunday
"	"	25th,	"	
"	"	26th,	"	
"	"	27th,	"	
"	"	28th,	"	
"	"	29th,	"	
"	"	30th,	"	Jan. 31st, Sunday
"	Feb.	1st,	"	
"	"	2nd,	"	
"	"	3rd,	"	
"	"	4th,	"	
"	"	5th,	"	
"	"	6th,	"	Feb. 7th, Sunday
"	"	8th,	"	
"	"	9th,	"	
"	"	10th,	"	
"	"	11th,	"	
"	"	12th,	"	
"	"	15th,	"	
"	"	13th,	"	Feb. 14th, Sunday

Present	Feb.	16th, 1841	
"	"	17th, "	
"	"	18th, "	
"	"	19th, "	
"	"	20th, "	Feb. 21st, Sunday
"	"	22nd, "	
"	"	23rd, "	
"	"	24th, "	
"	"	25th, "	
"	"	26th, "	
"	"	27th, "	Feb. 28th, Sunday
"	March	1st, "	Adjournment

VI. THE GRAVES OF ANN RUTLEDGE

The following letter from Honorable Thomas P. Reep, of Petersburg, gives the facts concerning the original and present graves of Ann Rutledge:

The Concord Cemetery was set apart by one of the Berrys, who owned the land at the time. It was probably opened as a grave-yard about 1828-9, and was the community burying ground for the Sand Ridge settlement. The marker bears the date 1837, but the cemetery was used many years earlier; Ann Rutledge and her father were buried there in 1835. The marker of David Rutledge bears date of June 7, 1842.

The facts concerning the removal of Ann's body are rather sordid. The Oakland Cemetery at Petersburg was established some thirty-five years ago with Edward Laning as President, and my cousin, Samuel Montgomery, as Secretary. Montgomery was a local undertaker. He conceived the idea that there would be some advertising value, and a consequent increase in the sale of lots, in the removal of the body of Ann Rutledge to Oakland Cemetery, and mentioned the idea to Mr. Laning, who approved. McGrady Rutledge, Ann's cousin, approved the plan, and consented on behalf of the Rutledge family. He had been present at Ann's burial, and said that he could not remember on which side of her brother, David, Ann was buried, but she was buried on one side and a child on the other. The grave of David Rutledge was marked, and the marker is still there. On May 5, 1890, Samuel Montgomery and McGrady Rutledge went to Con-

cord Cemetery, accompanied by two men as diggers. The graves on each side of that of David Rutledge were opened, and, as McGrady had predicted, the bones of a child were found upon one side and those of an adult on the other. Those of the grown person were removed to Oakland Cemetery at Petersburg as those of Ann Rutledge. Mr. Montgomery made oath to these facts in 1922; I prepared the affidavit, and it is among the files of the Lincoln League at Petersburg, and also on record in the Recorder's Office, in order that hereafter there may be no dispute about the facts.

VII. SANGAMON, AND THE JOURNAL

The Sangamon Journal was published weekly from November 10, 1831, to June 13, 1848. It appeared first as a daily on Monday, June 13, 1848, and has since been issued both daily and weekly, under the various titles of *Sangamo Journal, Sangamon Journal,* and *Illinois State Journal.* The title of *Sangamon Journal* was retained from the beginning till January 12, 1832, when, with number 11, it was changed to *Sangamo Journal.* This paper supported the Whig Party, thus favoring a national bank, protective tariff, and internal improvements. From the birth of the Republican Party the *Journal* supported its principles. Published by Simeon and Josiah Francis, 1832-1835; Simeon Francis, 1835-1838; Simeon, Allen and J. Newton Francis, 1838-1843; Simeon and Allen Francis, 1843-1855; W. H. Bailhache and Edward L. Baker, 1855-1862. On September 23, 1847, the name was changed to *Illinois Journal,* and on August 13, 1855, was changed to that by which it has since been known, namely: *Illinois State Journal.*

The name Sangamon, derived from the Pottawatomie through the French, was pronounced *Sangamaw* in early days, and in conformity with this pronunciation was often spelled *Sangamo.* It is now uniformly spelled and pronounced *Sangamon.*

Of the signification of the name Governor Reynolds says:

The Indians, long before a white man saw the Sangamon Country, were appraised of its fertility and rich products. In the

Pottawatomie language—"Sangamon" means the country where there is plenty to eat. According to our parlance, it would be termed the land of milk and honey.*

VIII. THE LINCOLN CIRCUIT

The Eighth Judicial District was constituted in 1847, and the courts established under this distribution remained unchanged for more than a decade. The counties included were Sangamon, Tazewell, Woodford, Logan, DeWitt, Piatt, Champaign, Vermilion, Edgar, Shelby, Moultrie, Macon and Christian. Menard, Mason and Livingston were in the Eighth district just previous to the change in the sitting of the courts in 1847.

In traveling the circuit from one county-seat to another, the road crossed Coles, and Lincoln often practised there; but there is no record that Coles was ever officially a part of the circuit.

During all the years after Lincoln's return from his one term in Congress, Judge David Davis was on the bench, and Lincoln accompanied him from one county-seat to another.

Lincoln was the only one of the lawyers who rode the entire circuit. Of his associates on the circuit it is recorded that Logan rarely left Sangamon County; Stuart went only into Tazewell, Logan and McLean Counties; the Macon County lawyers went into Piatt only; Swett and Gridley attended McLean, DeWitt, Champaign and Vermilion Counties, and Moore of DeWitt, and Lodge of Piatt, limited their practise to their own counties and McLean. Joseph Cunningham, the youngest of these associates of Lincoln on the Circuit, practised only in Champaign and Vermilion Counties. Oliver P. Davis, Oscar F. Harmon and E. S. Terry, of Danville, with the Indiana lawyers, Dan Mace and Jim Wilson of Lafayette, Ned Hannegan, Dan Voorhies and Joe Ristine of Covington, made the court at Danville of great interest.

The Lincoln circuit is now marked, the roads being designated, and the county-seats having granite markers with bronze

*Reynolds', *My Life and Times*, p. 237.

tablets set in, bearing a head of Lincoln in bas-relief, and this inscription:

ABRAHAM LINCOLN
travelled this way as he
Rode the Circuit
of the
Old Eighth Judicial District
1847 1859
Erected 1921

(Insignia of D. A. R.) (Monogram of L. C. M. A.)

IX. THE FIRST LINCOLN-DOUGLAS DEBATE

It is well known that Lincoln and Douglas met in joint debate at Peoria, in October, 1854. Their plan for other joint discussions, and the truce which they made, have been the occasion of much discussion; and I have never felt satisfied with Herndon's explanation, (iii. pp. 373, 374). Several times Lincoln engaged in important joint debates with other political opponents. One such incident occurred in the campaign of 1840, where Lincoln met on the same platform at Albion, Honorable Isaac T. Walker (*Journal of the Illinois Historical Society* for January, 1917, pp. 489-491). A similar discussion with Honorable Anthony Thornton, at Shelbyville, June 15, 1856, has been made the subject of an historical painting (*Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* for April, 1917, pp. 97-100). Doubtless there were many other joint debates in which Lincoln participated, most of which have left no permanent record. There is, however, a contemporary record of what may have been the first public debate between Abraham Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas. It is preserved in the *Illinois State Register* of Saturday, November 23, 1839, and it is notable not only as the first joint debate between Lincoln and Douglas, nine years preceding their epoch-making contest, but for the criticism it

makes upon Lincoln's mannerisms as they appeared to an unfriendly critic at that stage of his career, and also because this may be the first time that Springfield heard Stephen A. Douglas referred to as "the little giant." This discussion occupied three evenings, Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday, October 19-21, 1830. The report in the *Register* is in two editorials and a communication. The leading editorial follows:

THE CAMPAIGN

The Federal Candidates for electors of President and Vice President are already in the field. Cyrus Walker Esq., one of them, addressed the citizens of this place in the Court House, on Tuesday last. He was replied to by Stephen A. Douglas Esq., and it was the general opinion of all present that Mr. Douglas left the Federal Candidate for elector not an inch of ground to stand upon. Mr. Lincoln, another Federal Candidate for elector, followed in the evening.

His argument was truly ingenious. He has however, a sort of assumed clownishness in his manner which does not become him, and which does not truly belong to him. It is assumed—assumed for effect. Mr Lincoln will sometimes make his language correspond with this clownish manner, and he can thus frequently raise a loud laugh among his Whig hearers, but this entire game of buffoonery convinces the mind of no man, and is utterly lost on the majority of his audience.

We seriously advise Mr. Lincoln to correct this clownish fault, before it grows upon him.

But we have digressed. The main object of calling in Mr. Lincoln, was to raise up Mr Walker, who had been actually demolished by Mr. Douglas in the afternoon. Lincoln made out to get Walker rather unsteadily on his legs again, and between two Whig Speakers our Democratic "little giant," as Walker called him, had a rough time of it. Lincoln misrepresented Douglas, as was apparent to every man present.

This brought a warm rejoinder from Mr. Douglas. Mr. Walker then rose, complained of Mr. D. for his warmth, and went on for an hour starting new points. Thus a concerted plot of "two pluck one," began to show itself. But under these disadvantages Mr. Douglas literally swamped his adversaries. His

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

Again Lincoln and Douglas met in joint discussion at the State Fair at Springfield in October, 1854. Douglas spoke on the first day of the fair, Tuesday, October third. "I will mention," said he in his opening remarks, "that it is understood by some gentlemen that Mr. Lincoln of this city is expected to answer me. If this is the understanding, I wish that Mr. Lincoln would step forward and let us arrange some plan upon which to carry out this discussion." Lincoln was not present at the moment in Representatives' Hall, where the crowd had been driven by unfavorable weather, but he soon appeared and heard Douglas in the main part of his address. The next day Lincoln spoke in the same place, the hall being packed on each occasion. Douglas sat directly in front of Lincoln, and said at the beginning, "My friend Mr. Lincoln expressly invited me to stay and hear him to-day, as he heard me yesterday, and to answer and defend myself as best I could. I thank him for his courteous offer." Twelve days afterward, on October sixteenth, they met again in joint debate in Peoria, where Lincoln made one of his most notable addresses, embodying, as Horace White believed, the substance of what two years later he delivered in Bloomington and known as his "lost speech."

X THE LINCOLN AND DOUGLAS SPEAKING DATES IN 1858

Douglas stated that in the one hundred days, exclusive of Sundays, between his return to Illinois and the November election in 1858, he delivered one hundred thirty political addresses. Lincoln began later, and spoke somewhat less frequently, but after he got well into the campaign, he was speaking almost every day. Not all the speeches are of record. While the method of speaking from the rear platform of a train had not then reached its present recognition, both candidates, in passing through cities not on their official list, made more or less formal addresses. The Democratic campaign committee kept standing at the head of some of the newspapers of that political faith, notably the

Register of Springfield and the *Times* of Chicago, a list of Douglas's advance engagements, keeping the list revised so as to give notice about two weeks ahead. The *Press and Tribune* of Chicago and the *Journal* of Springfield performed a like service for Lincoln. From those newspapers these lists of dates have been compiled. Where blanks occur, the speaker was usually making a rather long journey, or one involving inconvenient train connections, to his next appointment, and sometimes was speaking while on the way.

Thursday, June 17, 1858. Lincoln's speech at the Republican Convention at Springfield.

Friday, July 9. Douglas's speech at Tremont House, Chicago. Lincoln was present.

Saturday, July 10. Lincoln's speech at same place. Douglas was not present.

Friday, July 16. Douglas's speech at Bloomington. Lincoln was present.

Saturday, July 17. Douglas's speech at Springfield in the afternoon; Lincoln's speech at Springfield in the evening. Neither of the candidates was present when the other spoke at Springfield.

Although both candidates were speaking frequently, the formal announcements of Douglas in state-wide publication do not begin until July 27, and those of Lincoln August 12. For convenience in tracing their routes, the two series of dates are arranged in a single table, giving both town and county, and day of week and month. It will be noted that Lincoln was careful, wherever possible, to follow Douglas, and not permit Douglas to follow him.

DOUGLAS		LINCOLN
	JULY	
	Tuesday, 27	
Clinton, Dewitt Co.		
	Thursday, 29	
Monticello, Piatt Co.		

DOUGLAS		LINCOLN
	Saturday, 31	
Paris, Edgar Co.		
	AUGUST	
	Monday, 2	
Hillsboro, Montgomery Co.		
	Wednesday, 4	
Greenville, Bond Co.		
	Friday, 6	
Edwardsville, Madison Co.		
	Saturday, 7	
Winchester, Scott Co.		
	Monday, 9	
Pittsfield, Pike Co.		
	Tuesday, 10	
	Wednesday, 11	
Beardstown, Cass Co.		
	Thursday, 12	
		Beardstown, Cass Co.
	Friday, 13	
Havana, Mason Co.		
	Saturday, 14	
		Havana, Mason Co.
	Monday, 16	
Lewiston, Fulton Co.		
	Tuesday, 17	
	Wednesday, 18	
Peoria, Peoria Co.		
	Thursday, 19	
Lacon, Marshall Co.		Peoria, Peoria Co.
	Friday, 20	
	Saturday, 21	
	First Joint Debate	
Ottawa, La Salle Co.		Ottawa, La Salle Co.
	Monday, 23	
	Tuesday, 24	
	Wednesday, 25	
Galena, Jo Daviess Co.		Augusta, Hancock Co.

DOUGLAS LINCOLN

Thursday, 26
Friday, 27
Second Joint Debate
Freeport, Stephenson Co. Freeport, Stephenson Co.
Saturday, 28
Junction, Du Page Co.
Monday, 30
Tuesday, 31
Joliet, Will Co. Carlinville, Macoupin Co.

SEPTEMBER

Wednesday, 1
Thursday, 2
Pontiac, Livingston Co. Clinton, Dewitt Co.
Friday, 3
Saturday, 4
Lincoln, Logan Co. Bloomington, McLean Co.
Monday, 6
Jacksonville, Morgan Co. Monticello, Piatt Co.
Tuesday, 7
Mattoon, Coles Co.
Wednesday, 8
Carlinville, Macoupin Co. Paris, Edgar Co.
Thursday, 9
Hillsboro, Montgomery Co.
Friday, 10
Belleville, St. Clair Co.
Saturday, 11
Waterloo, Monroe Co. Edwardsville, Madison Co.
Monday, 13
Chester, Randolph Co. Greenville, Bond Co.
Tuesday, 14
Wednesday, 15
Third Joint Debate
Jonesboro, Union Co. Jonesboro, Union Co.
Thursday, 16
Benton, Franklin Co.

DOUGLAS	LINCOLN
	Friday, 17
	Saturday, 18
Fourth Joint Debate	
Charleston, Coles Co.	Charleston, Coles Co.
	Monday, 20
	Sullivan, Moultrie Co.
	Tuesday, 21
Danville, Vermilion Co.	
	Wednesday, 22
	Danville, Vermilion Co.
	Thursday, 23
Urbana, Champaign Co.	
	Friday, 24
	Urbana, Champaign Co.
	Saturday, 25
Kankakee, Kankakee Co.	
	Monday, 27
	Jacksonville, Morgan Co.
	Tuesday, 28
Hennepin, Putnam Co.	
	Wednesday, 29
Henry, Marshall Co.	Winchester, Scott Co.
	Thursday, 30
Metamora, Woodford Co.	
OCTOBER	
	Friday, 1
	Pittsfield, Pike Co.
	Saturday, 2
Pekin, Tazewell Co.	
	Monday, 4
Oquawka, Henderson Co.	Metamora, Woodford Co.
	Tuesday, 5
Monmouth, Warren Co.	Pekin, Tazewell Co.
	Wednesday, 6
	Thursday, 7
Fifth Joint Debate	
Galesburg, Knox Co.	Galesburg, Knox Co.

DOUGLAS		LINCOLN
	Friday, 8	
	Saturday, 9	
Macomb, McDonough Co.		Oquawka, Henderson Co.
	Monday, 11	
Carthage, Hancock Co.		Monmouth, Warren Co.
	Tuesday, 12	
	Wednesday, 13	
	Sixth Joint Debate	
Quincy, Adams Co.		Quincy, Adams Co.
	Thursday, 14	
	Friday, 15	
	Seventh Joint Debate	
Alton, Madison Co.		Alton, Madison Co.
	Saturday, 16	
Gillespie, Macoupin Co.		
	Monday, 18	
Decatur, Macon Co.		Mt. Sterling, Brown Co.
	Tuesday, 19	
	Wednesday, 20	
Springfield, Sangamon Co.		Rushville, Schuyler Co.
	Thursday, 21	
Atlanta, Logan Co.		
	Friday, 22	
Bloomington, McLean Co.		Carthage, Hancock Co.
	Saturday, 23	
	Monday, 25	
		Macomb, McDonough Co.
	Tuesday, 26	
Toulon, Starke Co.		
	Wednesday, 27	
	Thursday, 28	
Geneseo, Henry Co.		
	Friday, 29	
Rock Island, Rock Island Co.		Petersburg, Menard Co.
	Saturday, 30	

Lincoln delivered at Springfield his last speech of the campaign. The election occurred on Tuesday, November 2.

XI. THE ARMSTRONG MURDER TRIAL ALMANAC

I have given much space in the text to the almanac alleged to have been used in the Armstrong murder trial, but the disappearance of the pamphlet from the Chicago Historical Library seems to me to make it advisable to publish the notes which I made concerning it. I have no doubt that I examined it more carefully than any other critic; and as, unhappily, the almanac itself is not and may not hereafter be available for the inspection of others, this evidence is pertinent.

The almanac is one published by the American Tract Society, and is entitled,—

Illustrated Family Christian Almanac
for the Year of Our Lord
1857
By David Young,
Hanover Neck, N. J.

Mr. Gunther procured the almanac in 1893 from a lawyer living in Alton, Illinois. Three letters from him to Mr. Gunther accompany the pamphlet, and there is reference to an affidavit by John Huston, of Beardstown, alleged to have been deputy sheriff, and presumably certifying that the almanac was, as he believed, the same used at the trial. In a newspaper clipping from an Alton paper, contemporary with the sale, and based on information furnished by this lawyer, it is stated that he originally paid five dollars for it. The correspondence shows that he sold it to Gunther for fifty dollars. In the second letter, dated July 31, 1893, this lawyer says,—

The almanac I have, and which is unquestionably that used by Mr. Lincoln, was an almanac of 1854 with date changed to '57. This I am able to ascertain only by a brief note in an obscure place and seems to have been overlooked at the time. The almanac was prepared in the hotel of E. C. Foster, an old re-

spected citizen who states that he was cognizant of the work while being done by Mr. L. and the Dr. (Moore,* I believe). . . . There is not a shadow of a doubt in my mind that the facts are as he stated.

The letter which accompanied the book and completed the sale was a month later, August 30, 1893.

The author of the above letters was incorrect as to the year to which the almanac belonged. The obscure note in which he found the year unchanged was this:

Venus will be a morning star till May 13; then an evening star until Feb. 28, 1854.

The year 1853 was understood after the date May thirteenth. That was the year for which the almanac was issued. The back cover shows the church festivals for the year 1853, and is unaltered.

The front cover originally bore its date in comparatively light type, wrought into the scroll work of the cover-design. It has been scratched out with a knife, and the date 1857 printed in bold type. On the title page the character 3 is changed to 7 by scratching and writing in with a pen. I judge that the top bar of the 7 is the original top of the 3.

Twelve pages have the date at their top, one for each month. In every case the date is changed with type, a character 7 being used after a knife had been employed in scratching.

The man who did this work was so desirous of doing it well that he overdid it, and had to change back in one place where it said that "The sixteenth Presidential term of four years began on the fourth day of March 1853 and will expire on the third of March 1857." These figures were scratched, but changed back to allow Millard Fillmore his full four years.

One thing is certain, this work was not done hastily in the Beardstown hotel on the night before the almanac was used.

*The name of the physician appears to have been Parker.

Lincoln reached Beardstown that night. If the work was done there under Lincoln's direction that was the time when it was done. But it is too well performed to have been done in that way. Both in the matching of the type and in the work done by the pen there is evidence of more skill than could thus have been extemporized. It called for careful work.

And yet the work does not pass anything like a critical examination. Every page where the changes have been made shows when held to the light that the paper has been scraped, and a very little scrutiny reveals the substitution of the 7 for the erased figure. It is hardly conceivable that some one of the twelve jurors would not have detected the imposture, and quite unlikely that either the judge or the prosecuting attorney would have permitted the exhibit to have gone to the jury with a fraud so readily discernible.

Whoever prepared the almanac did it with reference to this case. Either it is the original almanac, or some one who knew of the case and of the rumor that Lincoln played a trick upon the court thought of it as an interesting experiment and undertook to see how well he could succeed in such a venture as Lincoln was alleged to have undertaken. Did Lincoln do it, or did some clever and curious journeyman printer undertake to see how good an imitation he could make of the almanac which Lincoln was alleged to have used? The man who did the actual work was a printer, and besides that was clever with the use of the knife in erasure and of the pen in the drawing of figures for which he had no font of type, as on the title page where he needed to insert one part of one figure.

It was not a job hastily done in one evening by the light of tallow dips. It called for daylight and time and care. It was not done in Beardstown on the night before the trial.

But among the difficulties of the imposture was this, that by no possibility could the days of the week in 1853 be made to correspond with the days of the week in 1857. The 1853 almanac thus produced showed that August twenty-ninth occurred

on Monday. Every member of the jury knew that the murder occurred on Saturday night. Would any lawyer dare to proceed on the assumption that twelve men who could read would fail to see that the important line began "29 Mo" and not "29 Sa"? Was it possible that the prosecuting attorney would not have discovered this the very instant he looked at the page?

Everybody knew that the murder occurred on the last Saturday night before the close of the camp-meeting. That fact had come out strongly not only in the Armstrong trial but in the earlier trial of his associate, Norris. To find on the closely printed page with its abbreviations the date on which the position of the moon was to be learned, it was necessary to run the eye down the margin to find in adjacent columns "29 Sa." It was impossible to leap over the "Sa" from the "29" to the position of the moon and not notice that the day of the week was wrong. If all that had been desired had been to make an 1853 almanac look like one of 1857, the figures at the top of the pages would have passed a superficial examination. But for the purpose which this almanac required to be used, it was necessary that Saturday should fall on August twenty-ninth, and that combination could not have been found in an almanac earlier than 1857 and later than 1846.

A local account preserved in an undated clipping from the period of the Armstrong interview says,—

Duff Armstrong's faith in the genuineness of the almanac is not generally shared by the Petersburg people, who remember the trial. Uncle Johnny Potter, who was an intimate friend of the Armstrongs, laughed and shook his head when he was asked what the real facts were. It seems that after the trial the friends of the Armstrongs talked the matter over. Some of them remembered as positively as the witnesses had done that there was nearly a full moon on the night Pres Metzker was beaten at the camp-meeting. They insisted on their recollections in spite of Mr. Lincoln's documentary evidence. There was an overhauling of old almanacs in various households. Sure enough, they showed a moon nearly in mid-heavens at the hour of the

affray. Then there was inquiry for the almanac which had been presented by Mr. Lincoln in court. The little pamphlet could not be found.

The present almanac is alleged to have been preserved by Honorable J. Henry Shaw, and to have been found after his death by John Husted, who is said to have been deputy sheriff at the time of the trial and to have gone to Virginia after Allen. Husted appears to have owned the almanac in 1888 when the Eggleston story appeared.

Those persons who believe this to be the genuine almanac hold two or three different opinions. One is that Mr. Lincoln was himself imposed upon. This is not likely. It would not have been easy to deceive as astute a man as Mr. Lincoln with this almanac. If Mr. Lincoln used this, he may be presumed to have prepared it or at least to have accepted it with full knowledge of the use to which it was adapted.

When Edward Eggleston published his *The Graysons,* popular interest was roused in the Armstrong trial. The Perrysburg of his story is supposed to be Petersburg. In this story Lincoln is represented as a young and almost unknown man, whereas in 1858 Lincoln was already a national figure and was aspiring to be president. He had already received a large vote for the vice-presidency in the Convention of 1856. There are other wide departures from historic accuracy, to which accuracy the story does not pretend.

At that time Duff Armstrong was himself living and he was interviewed by J. McCan Davis, and the interview widely published. Armstrong was at this time a member of the Disciples Church and a respected man in the community. He denied that he was guilty, and declared that Metzker attacked him without provocation and that he acted only in self-defense. As to the almanac, Armstrong said:

It's all foolishness to talk about Lincoln having had that almanac fixed up for the trial. He didn't do anything of the

kind. I recollect that after he had been asking the witnesses about the moonlight he suddenly called for an almanac. There wasn't any in the court room of the year he wanted. So he sent my cousin Jake out to find one. Jake went out and after a while he came back with the almanac. Lincoln turned to the night of the fight at the camp-meeting and it showed that there wasn't any moon at all that night. Then he showed it to the jury. That was all there was to the almanac story. That almanac was all right.

All members of the Armstrong family who have been interviewed appear to be united in this testimony. None of them admit that the almanac was other than a genuine almanac. The people of Beardstown confidently point out the drug-store, still in operation, where the almanac used was obtained.

One thing grows clear as tradition is explored, and that is that the almanac has a far larger place in the story than it had in the trial. The story has been so improved as to make it seem that Mr. Lincoln placed his sole dependence upon this exhibit. It has been told that he introduced no witnesses for the defense: that he did not cross-examine the witnesses; that he appeared to be neglecting the case until the last dramatic moment when he produced his one and unanswerable argument. Lincoln did introduce witnesses, chiefly to show such previous good character as Duff Armstrong could claim; for there was no opportunity for direct evidence against that of the state's principal witness, Allen. He did all that was ordinarily done in such a case, and appears to have left nothing undone that a lawyer might have been expected to do in such a case. Lincoln was at this time a distinguished lawyer, and his presence was a matter of some note. Nevertheless, this was only a case of local interest, and his acceptance of the case was considered chiefly in the light of his friendship for the family. Not that Lincoln had outgrown criminal practise. Lawyers in Illinois in that day did not specialize. They took such cases as came to them, whether civil or criminal.

It was only after Lincoln had become president that Beardstown recalled with pride Mr. Lincoln's relations to the town from

the day when one of its citizens, Denton Offutt, hired him and John Hanks and John D. Johnston, all living at that time near Decatur, to build a flat-boat and go with it to New Orleans, till he returned in 1858 to plead for the life of the son of Hannah Armstrong. Six visits, all told, Lincoln is known to have made to Beardstown, but four of them were in 1831 and 1832. He had not been in Beardstown, so far as is known, from 1832 till 1858, a period of twenty-six years. He returned to defend Duff Armstrong, May 7, 1858, and in the same summer, August 12, 1858, when he followed Stephen A. Douglas, who had spoken in the same place on the preceding day.

There were Democrats enough in Beardstown who would have reminded him of the fraud, if it had occurred, and Stephen A. Douglas could not have failed to learn of it, or to refer to it to the discrediting of Lincoln who was to speak in Beardstown on the following day.

For many years no one was able to get a statement from Duff Armstrong for publication. J. McCan Davis, of Springfield, Illinois, at length persuaded Armstrong to tell what he remembered of the broil in which he was supposed to have murdered a companion, and also of the trial in which Lincoln secured his release. Armstrong was in his sixty-third year when he gave this interview and had long been a respected citizen of the little village of Ashland. He had been for several years a member of the Christian or "Disciples" Church. His trial for the murder of "Pres" Metzker was a subject he seldom talked about; he would fain forget it, and those about him have not often been inquisitive.

The accounts hitherto printed he pronounces glaringly inaccurate. This is his own story of the alleged murder and of the trial:

DUFF ARMSTRONG'S OWN STORY

"It was on a Saturday night, and camp-meeting was over for the day. In the edge of the grove were three bars where liquor

was sold. Here gathered all the men and boys who went to camp-meeting to drink whisky and have a good time—and a great many went for no other purpose. I had been at the meeting two or three days, and had been drinking much, but I was then becoming sober. Up to this time 'Pres' Metzker and I had been good friends; but 'Pres' had been drinking and was in an ugly mood. He had a loaded whip in his hand and was determined to have a fight with me. I hit him a terrible blow, knocking the skin from one of my knuckles. We clinched, and 'Pres' rather got the best of me. I was strong for one of my size, and was able to catch him and throw him back over me. He got up first and came at me again. Then we fought like tigers. At last he got me under him. More than a hundred people stood by watching the fight, and when the boys saw 'Pres' was getting the best of me they pulled him off. We walked up to the bar, and, each taking a drink of whisky, we bumped glasses and were friends again. I saw nothing more of him until the next morning, when he walked to the bar with a stolen quilt around him. His right eye was swollen shut. He bathed it with a glass of whisky, drank another glass, and then mounted his horse and rode away. Several days after that he died. Then the officers came and arrested me and put me in jail.

"I had a preliminary trial at Havana and was held without bail. All the bad luck in the world seemed to come to me now. On this very day my father, 'Jack' Armstrong, died. On his deathbed he said to my mother: 'Hannah, sell everything to clear "Duff."' These were almost his last words.

"After the change of venue to Beardstown Lincoln told my mother he would defend me. At the trial I had about twenty-five witnesses. The strongest witness against me was Charles Allen. He was the witness that swore about the moon; he swore it was a full moon and almost overhead. 'Uncle Abe' asked him over and over about it, but he stuck to it. Then he said he saw me strike Metzker with a slung-shot. 'Uncle Abe' asked him to tell how it was done. He got up and went through the motion,

struck an overhand blow, just as he declared he saw me do by the light of the full moon. 'Uncle Abe' had him do it over again. After Allen's testimony everybody thought I would be convicted. After 'Uncle Abe' had talked to the jury a little while, he said: 'Now, I will show you that this man Allen's testimony is a pack of lies; that he never saw Armstrong strike Metzker with a slung-shot; that he did not witness this fight by the light of the full moon, for the moon was not in the heavens that night.' And then 'Uncle Abe' pulled out the almanac and showed the jury the truth about the moon. I do not remember exactly what it was—whether the moon had not risen, or whether it had set; but whatever it was it upset Allen's story completely. He passed the almanac to the jurors and they all inspected it. Then 'Uncle Abe' talked about the fight, and showed that I had acted in self-defense and had used no weapon of any kind. But it seemed to me 'Uncle Abe' did his best talking when he told the jury what true friends my father and mother had been to him in the early days, when he was a poor young man at New Salem. He told how he used to go out to Jack Armstrong's and stay for days; how kind mother was to him, and how, many a time, he had rocked me to sleep in the old cradle. He said he was not there pleading for me because he was paid for it; but he was there to help a good woman who had helped him when he needed help. Lawyer Walker made a good speech for me, too, but 'Uncle Abe's' beat anything I ever heard.

"As 'Uncle Abe' finished his speech, he said: 'I hope this man will be a free man before sundown.' The jury retired and nearly everybody went to supper. As soon as the judge and the lawyers got back from supper the jury was brought in. They had to pass me, and I eyed them closely for some hopeful sign. One of them looked at me and winked. Then I knew it was all right; when the foreman handed up the verdict of 'not guilty' I was the happiest man in the world, I reckon. 'Uncle Abe' would not charge my mother a cent; he said her happiness over my freedom was his sufficient reward.

"When the war broke out the four brothers of us enlisted in the army. Jim was wounded at Belmont; Pleasant died. I served on until the end of the war, when mother took a notion she wanted me. People laughed at her when she said she would write to the President, but she said, 'Please goodness, I am a-going to try it.' She got 'Squire Garber of Petersburg to write to 'Uncle Abe,' and in a few days mother got a telegram signed 'A. Lincoln,' telling her I had been honorably discharged. At that time I was at Elmira, N. Y., helping pick up deserters, and a discharge was the last thing I was dreaming of."

XII. LINCOLN'S BEARD

Delphos, Kansas.
Mar. 1, 1923.

Rev. Wm. E. Barton,
Oak Park, Ill.
Dear Sir:

Yours of recent date at hand and I take pleasure in complying with your request, and will repeat the story of the correspondence and subsequent meeting with Mr. Lincoln.

I have a very vivid remembrance of those weeks preceding Mr. Lincoln's election, filled with excitement and the turbulent years which followed. My father was an ardent admirer of the great man and the principles for which he stood and, childlike, I followed in his footsteps. I recall my indignation at the unkind comments of my school-mates whose friends were supporting the opposition, and you may be sure that I resented them. I think I did not see his picture until later when my father brot home a poster to us children; it was crude and coarse—Mr. Lincoln and Hamlin occupied the center and their faces were surrounded by a rail fence, by way of frame; the outer edge of the picture was finished with portraits of former presidents. Possibly I was a trifle disappointed with his appearance for I thot to myself that he would look better if he had whiskers and I posted a letter with that advice that very afternoon to Mr. Lincoln. I told him that I had seen his picture and thot that he would be better looking if he wore a beard and told him that if he would, I would try to coax my two brothers, who were Demo-

crats, to vote for him and, if he had not time to reply, would he have his little girl answer my letter. I must have been fearful that his feelings would be hurt for I told him that I thot the rail fence around his picture looked *real* pretty. I do not remember anything more that I wrote him.

In a few days came a letter in reply which follows: (I still have this in my possession).

Private

Springfield, Ill.,
Oct. 19, 1860.

Miss Grace Bedell

My Dear Little Miss.

Your very agreeable letter of the 15*th* is received—

I regret the necessity of saying I have no daughter—I have three sons—one seventeen, one nine and one seven, years of age. They, with their mother constitute my whole family—

As to the whiskers, having never worn any, do you not think people would call it a piece of silly affection if I were to begin it now?

Your very sincere well wisher,

A. Lincoln.

It seems to me that his letter shows the kindly humorous side of his nature and also the public interest shown through these passing years.

In February, 1861, while on his way to Washington to be inaugurated he was accompanied by ex-Governor Patterson and others on that memorable trip. President Lincoln asked ex-Governor Patterson, who was a former resident of our town, if he knew of a family by the name of Bedell living there and received an affirmative reply. After a short speech delivered by Mr. Lincoln from the platform at the rear end of the car he said, "I have a correspondent in this place and, if she is present, I would like to see her." I was with friends in the crowd but I had neither heard nor seen the great man. The people began to shout, "Who is it?—Give us her name." He said, "Her name was Grace Bedell and she wrote me that she thought I would be better looking if I wore whiskers."

I was half led, half carried to the platform, running by the track on which Mr. Lincoln's train stood. He stepped down, took my hand as he said, "You see, I let those whiskers grow

for you, Grace." He stooped and kissed me and then resumed his journey, leaving a much-confused child who had but one thought; to get home to her mother. When I reached home and told my story, I found a little bunch of stems which was all that was left of a bouquet of winter-roses, which I had hoped to give the President with some others which were to be presented.

Perhaps I might add one thing which has always lived in my memory. The humiliation which was mine when I was asked how I happened to write to him and how I had addressed my letter. I said, "I addressed it 'Hon. Abraham Lincoln, Esq.' I knew it was right." My mother turned her face aside and smiled and said, "Well, I think the postman had no trouble in delivering to that address."

Very sincerely,
Grace Bedell Billings.

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